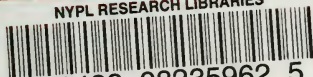


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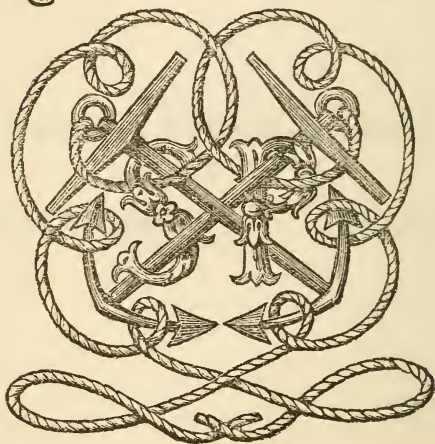


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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

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DIARY
AND
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS, ESQ., F.R.S.

FROM HIS MS. CYPHER IN THE PEPYSIAN LIBRARY,

WITH A LIFE AND NOTES BY
RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

DECIPHERED, WITH ADDITIONAL NOTES, BY
REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.,
PRESIDENT AND SENIOR FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

VOL. VII.

FEBRUARY 1, 1667—SEPTEMBER 30, 1667.

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DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

FEB. 1ST, 1666-67. Much surprised to hear this day at Deptford that Mrs. Batters is going already to be married to him, that is now the Captain of her husband's ship. She seemed the most passionate mourner in the world.

2nd. This night comes home my new silver snuff-dish, which I do give myself for my closet. I am very well pleased this night with reading a poem I brought home with me last night from Westminster Hall, of Dryden's ¹ upon the present war ; a very good poem.

3rd (Lord's day). To White Hall, and there to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there staid till he was ready, talking, and among other things of the Prince's being trepanned, which was in doing just as we passed through the Stone Gallery, we asking at the door of his lodgings, and were told so. We are full of wishes for the good success ; though I dare say but few do really concern ourselves for him in our hearts. With others into the House, and there hear that the work is done to the Prince ² in a few minutes without any pain

¹ Annus Mirabilis.

² Rupert.

at all to him, he not knowing when it was done. It was performed by Moulins. Having cut the outward table, as they call it, they find the inner all corrupted, so as it came out without any force ; and their fear is, that the whole inside of his head is corrupted ¹ like that, which do yet make them afraid of him ; but no ill accident appeared in the doing of the thing, but all with all imaginable success, as Sir Alexander Frazier did tell me himself, I asking him, who is very kind to me. To Sir G. Carteret's to dinner ; and before dinner he tells me that he believes the Duke of York will go to sea with the fleete, which I am sorry for in respect to his person, but yet there is no person in condition to command the fleete, now the Captains are grown so great, but him. By and by to dinner, where very good company. Among other discourse, we talked much of Nostradamus ² his prophecy of

¹ See 15th Jan. 1665.

² Michael Nostradamus, a physician and astrologer, born in the diocese of Avignon, 1503. Amongst other predictions, one was interpreted as foreshowing the singular death of Hen. II. of France, by which his reputation was increased. In the 49th quatrain of his 9th century, the lines

“Gand et Bruxelles marcheront contre Anvers,
Sénat de Londres mettront à mort leur roi,”

may well be applied to the death of Charles I. Some coincidences in modern times are also curious. He speaks of the “renovation de siècle,” in 1792, in which year, in fact, the French revolutionary kalendar took its rise. The landing of Bonaparte from Elba, at Fréjus, was supposed to be predicted in cent. x. quatrain xxiii. —

“Au peuple ingrat faites les remonstrances,
Par lors l'armée se saisera d'Antibe,
Dans l'arc Monech feront les doléances,
Et à Frejus l'un l'autre prendra ribe.”

these times, and the burning of the City of London,¹ some of whose verses are put into Booker's² Almanack this year; and Sir G. Carteret did tell a story, how at his death he did make the town swear that he should never be dug up, or his tomb opened, after he was buried; but they did after sixty years do it, and upon his breast they found a plate of brasse, saying what a wicked and unfaithful people the people of that place were, who after so many vows should disturb and open him such a day and year and hour; which, if true, is very strange. Then we fell to talking of the burning of the City; and my Lady Carteret herself did tell us how abundance of pieces of burnt papers were cast by the wind as far as Cranborne;³ and among others she took up one, or had one brought her to see, which

Jodelle's clever distich on Nostradamus is worthy of a place, —

“Nostra damus, cum falsa damus, nam fallere nostrum est,
Et cum falsa damus, nil nisi nostra damus.”

As well as the reply by Nostradamus's followers, —

“Nostra damus, cum verba damus, quæ Nostradamus dat,
Nam quæcumque dedit, nil nisi vera dedit.”

He succeeded too in rendering assistance to the inhabitants of Aix, during the plague, by a powder of his own invention. He died at Salon, July, 1566.

¹ Roger L'Estrange, whose office it was to license the Almanacks, told Sir Edward Walker, “that most of them did foretel the fire of London last year, but hee caused itt to bee put out.” — *WARD'S Diary*, p. 94.

² John Booker, an eminent astrologer and writing-master at Hadley. The words quoted by him from Nostradamus are (cent. ii. quatrain li.) —

“Le sang du juste à Londres fera faute,
Bruslez par foudre de vingt trois les six,
La dame antique cherra de place haute,
De mesme secte plusieurs seront occis.”

³ In Windsor Forest.

was a little bit of paper that had been printed, whereon there remained no more nor less than these words : "Time is, it is done."¹ Away home, and received some letters from Sir W. Coventry, touching the want of victuals to Kempthorne's² fleete going to the Streights and now in the Downes : which did trouble me, he saying that this disappointment might prove fatal ; and the more, because Sir W. Coventry do intend to come to the office upon business to-morrow morning, and I shall not know what answer to give him. This did mightily trouble my mind ; however, I fell to read a little in Hakewill's Apology,³ and did satisfy myself mighty fair in the truth of the saying that the world do not grow old at all, but is in as good condition in all respects as ever it was as to nature.

4th. To the office, where Mr. Gauden comes, and he and I discourse the business well, and I think I shall get off well enough ; but I do by Sir W. Coventry's silence conclude that he is not satisfied in my management of my place and the charge it puts the King to, which I confess I am not in present condition through my late laziness to give any good answer to. But here do D. Gauden give me a good cordiall

¹ Sir C. Wren, it is well known, took up a stone from the ruins of St. Paul's having the word " Resurgam " inscribed, which he adopted.

² John Kempthorne, a distinguished naval officer, afterwards knighted, and made Commissioner at Portsmouth, which place he represented in Parliament. Ob. 1679. See some curious letters about his election, in the " Correspondence."

³ " An Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World." By George Hakewill, a learned divine. Oxford, 1627. The work was frequently reprinted.

this morning, by telling me that he do give me five of the eight hundred pounds on his account remaining in my hands to myself, for the service I do him in my victualling business, and 100*l.* for my particular share of the profits of my Tangier employment as Treasurer. This do begin to make my heart glad, and I did dissemble it the better, for when Sir W. Coventry did come, and the rest met, I did appear unconcerned, and did give him answer pretty satisfactory what he asked me ; so that I did get off this meeting without any ground lost, but rather a great deal gained by interposing that which did belong to my duty to do, and neither Sir W. Coventry nor Sir W. Pen did oppose anything thereunto, which did make my heart very glad. Sir W. Coventry being gone, we at noon to dinner to Sir W. Pen, he inviting me and my wife, and there a pretty good dinner. So here I was mighty merry and all our differences seemingly blown over, though he knows, if he be not a fool, that I love him not, and I do the like that he hates me. Soon as dined, my wife and I out to the Duke's playhouse, and there saw "*Heraclius*,"¹ an excellent play, to my extraordinary content ; and the more from the house being very full, and great company ; among others, Mrs. Stewart, very fine, with her locks done up with puffs, as my wife calls them : and several other great ladies had their hair so, though I do not like it ; but my wife do mightily — but it is only because she sees

¹ See note to 8th March, 1664

it is the fashion. Here I saw my Lord Rochester and his lady, Mrs. Mallet, who hath after all this ado married him : and, as I hear some say in the pit, it is a great act of charity, for he hath no estate. But it was pleasant to see how every body rose up when my Lord John Butler, the Duke of Ormond's son,¹ came into the pit towards the end of the play, who was a servant to Mrs. Mallet,² and now smiled upon her, and she on him. I had sitting next to me a woman, the likest my Lady Castlemaine that ever I saw anybody like another ; but she is acquainted with every fine fellow, and called them by their name, Jacke, and Tom, and before the end of the play frisked to another place. Home, and to my chamber, and there finished my Catalogue of my books with my own hand.

5th. Heard this morning that the Prince is much better, and hath good rest. All the talk is that my Lord Sandwich hath perfected the peace with Spayne, which is very good, if true. Sir H. Cholmly was with me this morning, and told me of my Lord Bellassis's base dealings with him by getting him to give him great gratuities to near 2,000*l.* for his friendship in the business of the Mole, and hath been lately underhand endeavouring to bring another man into his place as Governor, so as to receive his money of Sir H. Cholm-

¹ Lord John Butler was born in 1643, and in January, 1676, married Anne, only daughter of Arthur Chichester, Earl of Donegal. In April, 1676, he was created Earl of Gowran. Ob. s. p., 1677: see 25th November, *ante*.

² See 25th November, *ante*.

ly for nothing. After dinner abroad with my wife and little Betty Michell, and took them against my vowes, but I will make good my forfeit, to the King's house, to see "The Chances."¹ A good play I find it, and the actors most good in it; and pretty to hear Knipp sing in the play very properly, "All night I weepe;"² and sung it admirably. The whole play pleases me well: and most of all, the sight of many fine ladies — among others, my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Middleton: the latter of the two hath also a very excellent face and body, I think. Thence by coach to the New Exchange, and there laid out money, and I did give Betty Michell two pair of gloves and a dressing-box; and so home in the dark, over the ruins, with a link, to the office. This morning there came to me Mr. Young and Whistler, flagg-makers, and with mighty earnestness did present me with, and press me to take a box, wherein I could not guess there was less than 100*l.* in gold: but I do wholly refuse, and did not at last take it. The truth is, not thinking them safe men to receive such a gratuity from, nor knowing any considerable courtesy that ever I did do them, but desirous to keep myself free from their reports, and to have it in my power to say I had refused their offer.

6th. To Westminster Hall, and walked up and

¹ A comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher, of which an alteration was afterwards, in 1682, brought out by the Duke of Buckingham.

² This song is not in Beaumont and Fletcher, as printed, nor in the alteration of the play by the Duke.

down, and hear that the Prince do still rest well by day and night, and out of pain ; so as great hopes are conceived of him ; though I did meet Dr. Clerke and Mr. Pierce, and they do say they believe he will not recover it, they supposing that his whole head within is eaten by this corruption, which appeared in this piece of the inner table. To White Hall, to attend the Council ; but they sat not to-day. So to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and find him within, and with a letter from the Downes in his hands, telling the loss of the St. Patricke coming from Harwich in her way to Portsmouth ; and would needs chase two ships, she having the Malago fire-ship in company, which from English colours put up Dutch, and he would clap on board the Vice-Admirall ; and after long dispute the Admirall comes on the other side of him, and both together took him. Our fire-ship (Seely)¹ not coming in to fire all three, but came away, leaving her in their possession, and carried away by them : a ship² built at Bristoll the last year, of fifty guns and upwards, and a most excellent good ship.

7th. Before dinner, talking with my brother upon matters relating to his journey to Brampton to-morrow, and giving him good counsel about spending the time when he shall stay in the country with my father, I looking another way heard him fall down, and turned

¹ "Captain Seely, captain of the fireship that deserted the Patrick, was this day (March 7th) shot to death on board his own vessel." — *Pointer*, vol. i. p. 216.

² The Patrick.

my head, and he was fallen down all along upon the ground dead, which did put me into a great fright ; and, to see my brotherly love ! I did presently lift him up from the ground, he being as pale as death ; and, being upon his legs, he did presently come to himself, and said he had something come into his stomach very hot. He knew not what it was, nor ever had such a fit before. I never was so frightened but once, when my wife was ill at Ware upon the road, and I did continue trembling a good while and ready to weepe, he continuing mighty pale all dinner and melancholy, that I was loth to let him take his journey to-morrow ; but he began to be pretty well, and after dinner my wife and Barker fell to singing, which pleased me pretty well, my wife taking mighty pains and proud that she shall come to trill, and indeed I think she will. So to the office, late doing business, and then home, and find my brother pretty well. I did this night give him 20s. for books, and as much for his pocket, and 15s. to carry him down. Poor fellow ! he is so melancholy, and withal, my wife says, harmless, that I begin to love him, and would be loth he should not do well.

8th. This morning my brother John came up to my bedside, and took his leave of us. I begin to fancy him from yesterday's incident, it troubling me to think I should be left without a brother or son, which is the first time that ever I had thoughts of the kind in my life. He gone, I up, and to the office. Sir W. Batten came this morning from the House, where the King

hath prorogued this Parliament to October next. I am glad they are up. The Bill for Accounts was not offered, the party being willing to let it fall; but the King did tell them he expected it. They are parted with great heart-burnings, one party against the other. Pray God bring them hereafter together in better temper! It is said that the King do intend himself in this interval to take away Lord Mordaunt's government,¹ so as to do something to appease the House against they come together, and let them see he will do that of his own accord which is fit, without their forcing him; and that he will have his Commission for Accounts go on: which will be good things. At dinner we talked much of Cromwell; all saying he was a brave fellow, and did owe his crowne he got to himself as much as any man that ever got one.

9th. To the office, where busy, very busy late, and then home and read a piece of a play, "Every Man in his Humour,"² wherein is the greatest propriety of speech that ever I read in my life: and so to bed. This noon came my wife's watchmaker, and received 12*l.* of me for her watch; but Captain Rolt coming to speak with me about a little business, he did judge of the work to be very good, and so I am well contented.

10th (Lord's day). With my wife to church, where Mr. Mills made an unnecessary sermon upon Original Sin, neither understood by himself nor the people.

¹ Windsor Castle.

² Ben Jonson's well-known play.

Home, where came Mr. Carter,¹ my old acquaintance of Magdalene College, who hath not been here of many years. He hath spent his time in the North with the Bishop of Carlisle² much. He is grown a very comely person, and of good discourse, and one that I like very much. We had much talk of all our old acquaintance of the College, concerning their various fortunes; wherein, to my joy, I met not with any that have sped better than myself. Mrs. Turner do tell me very odde stories how Mrs. Williams³ do receive the applications of people, and hath presents, and she is the hand that receives all, while my Lord Brouncker do the business.

11th. With Creed to Westminster Hall, and there up and down, and heard that Prince Rupert is still better and better; and that he did tell Dr. Troutbecke expressly that my Lord Sandwich is ordered home. I hear, too, that Prince Rupert hath begged the having of all the stolen prize-goods which he can find, and that he is looking out anew after them, which at first troubled me; but I do see it cannot come to anything, but is done by Hayes, or some of his little people about him. Here, among other newes, I bought the King's speech at proroguing the House the other day, wherein are some words which cannot but import some prospect of a peace, which God send us! After

¹ Thomas Carter, S.T.P., 1669.

² Dr. Rainbow.

³ Granger describes an engraved portrait by Cooper, after Lely, of the Lady (Mrs.) Williams, which, probably, represents the person so often mentioned in the "Diary."

dinner by coach to Lord Bellassis', and with him to Povy's house. Having done what we had to do there, my Lord set me down at the New Exchange, where I staid till Betty Michell came, which she did about five o'clock, and was surprised not to *trouver* my *muger* (wife) there ; but I did make an excuse good enough, and so I took *elle* down, and over the water to the cabinet-maker's and there bought a dressing-box for her for 20s., but would require an hour's time to make fit. So *elle* to enter *à la casa de uno de sus hermanos* (to the house of one of her brothers) and I past my time walking up and down, and among other places, to one Drumbleby, a maker of flageolets, the best in towne, and so I back to the cabinet-maker's and there staid ; and by and by Betty comes, and here we staid in the shop and above seeing the workmen work, which was pretty, till it was late quite dark, and the mistresse of the shop took us into the kitchen and there talked and used us very prettily ; there very merry, till my thing was done, and then took coach and home. But now comes my trouble, I did begin to fear that *su marido* might go to my house to enquire *pour elle*, and there, *trouvant* my *muger* at home, would not only think himself, but give my *femme* occasion to think strange things. This did trouble me mightily, so though *elle* would not seem to have me trouble myself about it, yet did agree to the stopping the coach at the streete's end, and *aller con elle* home, and there presently hear by him that he had newly sent *su* mayde to my house to see for her mistresse. This do much perplex me,

and I did go presently home (Betty whispering me behind the *tergo de* her *mari*, that if I would say that we did come home by water, *elle* could make up *la cose* well *satis*), and there in a sweat did walk in the entry before my door, thinking what I should say *à* my *femme*, and as God would have it, while I was in this case (the worst in reference *à* my *femme* that ever I was in in my life), a little woman comes stumbling to the entry steps in the dark ; whom asking who she was, she enquired for my house. So knowing her voice and telling her *su donna* is come home she went away. But, Lord ! in what a trouble was I, when she was gone, to recollect whether this was not the second time of her coming, but at last concluding that she had not been here before, I did bless myself in my good fortune in getting home before her, and do verily believe she had loitered some time by the way, which was my great good fortune, and so I in a-doors and there found all well. So my heart full of joy, I to the office awhile, and after supper to bed.

12th. With my Lord Brouncker by coach to his house, there to hear some Italian musique : and here we met Tom Killigrew, Sir Robert Murray, and the Italian Signor Baptista,¹ who hath composed a play in Italian for the Opera, which T. Killigrew do intend to have up ; and here he did sing one of the acts. He himself is the poet as well as the musician ; which is very much, and did sing the whole from the words

¹ Giovanni Baptista Draghi, an Italian musician in the service of Queen Catherine, and a composer of merit. — HAWKINS'S *History of Music*.

without any musique prickt, and played all along upon a harpsicon most admirably, and the composition most excellent. The words I did not understand, and so know not how they are fitted, but believe very well, and all in the recitativo very fine. But I perceive there is a proper accent in every country's discourse, and that do reach in their setting of notes to words, which, therefore, cannot be natural to any body else but them; so that I am not so much smitten with it as, it may be, I should be, if I were acquainted with their accent. But the whole composition is certainly most excellent; and the poetry, T. Killigrew and Sir R. Murray, who understood the words, did say was excellent. I confess I was mightily pleased with the musique. He pretends not to voice, though it be good, but not excellent. This done, T. Killigrew and I to talk: and he tells me how the audience at his house is not above half so much as it used to be before the late fire. That Knipp is like to make the best actor that ever came upon the stage, she understanding so well: that they are going to give her 30*l.* a-year more. That the stage is now by his pains a thousand times better and more glorious than ever heretofore. Now, wax-candles, and many of them; then, not above 3 lbs. of tallow: now, all things civil, no rudeness anywhere; then, as in a bear garden: then, two or three fiddlers; now, nine or ten of the best: then, nothing but rushes upon the ground, and every thing else mean; now, all otherwise: then, the Queen seldom and the King never would come; now, not the King

only for state, but all civil people do think they may come as well as any. He tells me that he hath gone several times, eight or ten times, he tells me, hence to Rome to hear good musique; so much he loves it, though he never did sing or play a note. That he hath endeavoured in the late King's time, and in this, to introduce good musique, but he never could do it, there never having been any musique here better than ballads. Nay, says, "Hermitt poore" and "Chivy Chese"¹ was all the musique we had; and yet no ordinary fiddlers get so much money as our's do here, which speaks our rudenesse still. That he hath gathered our Italians from several Courts in Christendome, to come to make a concert for the King, which he do give 200*l.* a-year a-piece to: but badly paid, and do come in the room of keeping four ridiculous gundilows,² he having got the King to put them away, and lay out money this way; and indeed I do commend him for it, for I think it is a very noble undertaking. He do intend to have some times of the year these operas to be performed at the two present theatres, since he is defeated in what he intended in Moore-fields on purpose for it; and he tells me plainly that the City audience was as good as the Court, but now they are most gone. Baptista tells me that Giacomo Charissimi is still alive at Rome, who was master to Vinneotio, who is one of the Italians that the King

¹ Chevy Chase.

² The gondolas mentioned before, as sent by the Doge of Venice. See 11th September, 1661, *ante*.

hath here, and the chief composer of them. My great wonder is, how this man do to keep in memory so perfectly the musique of the whole act, both for the voice and the instrument too. I confess I do admire it: but in recitativo the sense much helps him, for there is but one proper way of discoursing and giving the accents. Having done our discourse, we all took coaches, my Lord's and T. Killigrew's, and to Mrs. Knipp's chamber, where this Italian is to teach her to sing her part. And so we all thither, and there she did sing an Italian song or two very fine, while he played the bass upon a harpsicon there; and exceedingly taken I am with her singing, and believe that she will do miracles at that and acting. Her little girl is mighty pretty and witty. I mightily pleased with this evening's work, we all parted, and I took coach and home, where late at my office, and then to enter my last three days' Journall; and so to supper and to bed, troubled at nothing, but that these pleasures do hinder me in my business, and the more by reason of our being to dine abroad to-morrow, and then Saturday next is appointed to meet again at my Lord Brouncker's lodgings, and there to have the whole quire of Italians; but then I do consider that this is all the pleasure I live for in the world, and the greatest I can ever expect in the best of my life, and one thing more, that by hearing this man to-night, and I think Captain Cooke to-morrow, and the quire of Italians on Saturday, I shall be truly able to distinguish which of them pleases me truly best, which I do much

desire to know and have good reason and fresh occasion of judging.

13th. To the Duke of York, and there did our usual business ; but troubled to see that, at this time, after our declaring a debt to the Parliament of 900,000*l.*, and nothing paid since, but the debt increased, and now the fleete to set out ; to hear that the King hath ordered but 35,000*l.* for the setting out of the fleete, out of the Poll Bill, to buy all provisions, when five times as much had been little enough to have done any thing to purpose. They have, indeed, ordered more for paying off of seamen and the Yards for some time, but not enough for that neither. Another thing is, the acquainting the Duke of York with the case of Mr. Lanyon, our agent at Plymouth, who has trusted us to 8,000*l.* out of purse ; we are not in condition, after so many promises, to obtain him a farthing, nor though a message was carried by Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry to the Commissioners for Prizes, that he might have 3,000*l.* out of 20,000*l.* worth of prizes to be shortly sold there, that he might buy at the candle and pay for the goods out of bills, and all would not do any thing, but the money must go another way, while the King's service is undone, and those that trust him perish. These things grieve me to the heart. The Prince, I hear, is every day better and better. To Dr. Clerke's, by invitation. Here was his wife, painted, and her sister Worshipp, a widow now and mighty pretty in her mourning. Here was also Mr. Pierce and Mr. Floyd, Secretary to the Lords Com-

missioners of Prizes, and Captain Cooke, to dinner, an ill and little mean one, with foul cloth and dishes, and everything poor. Discoursed most about plays and the Opera, where, among other vanities, Captain Cooke had the arrogance to say that he was fain to direct Sir W. Davenant in the breaking of his verses into such and such lengths, according as would be fit for musick, and how he used to swear at Davenant, and command him that way, when W. Davenant would be angry, and find fault with this or that note — a vain coxcomb he is, though he sings and composes so well. Dr. Clerke did say that Sir W. Davenant is no good judge of a dramatick poem, finding fault with his choice of Henry the 5th, and others, for the stage, when I do think, and he confesses, “The Siege of Rhodes” as good as ever was writ. Cooke gone, Dr. Clerke fell to reading a new play, newly writ, of a friend’s of his; but, by his discourse and confession afterwards, it was his own. Some things, but very few, moderately good; but infinitely far from the conceit, wit, design, and language, from very many plays that I know; so that, but for compliment, I was quite tired with hearing it. There was a very great disorder this day at the Ticket Office, to the beating and bruising of the face of Carcasse very much. A foul evening this was to-night, and I mightily troubled to get a coach home; and, which is now my common practice, going over the ruins in the night, I rid with my sword drawn in the coach.

14th. To the office, where Carcasse comes with his

plaistered face, and called himself Sir W. Batten's martyr, which made W. Batten mad almost, and mighty quarrelling there was. We spent the morning almost wholly upon considering some way of keeping the peace at the Ticket Office ; but it is plain that the case of the office is nobody's work, and that is it that makes it stand in the ill condition it do. After dinner by coach to my Lord Chancellor's, and there a meeting : the Duke of York, Duke of Albemarle, and several other Lords of the Commission of Tangier. And there I did present a state of my accounts, and managed them well ; and my Lord Chancellor did say, though he was, in other things, in an ill humour, that no man in England was of more method, nor made himself better understood than myself. But going, after the business of money was over, to other businesses, of settling the garrison, he did fling out, and so did the Duke of York, two or three severe words touching my Lord Bellassis : that he would have no Governor come away from thence in less than three years ; no, though his lady were with child. "And," says the Duke of York, "there should be no Governor continue so, longer than three years." "And," says Lord Arlington, "when our rules are once set, and upon good judgment declared, no Governor should offer to alter them." "We must correct the many things that are amiss there ; for," says the Lord Chancellor, "you must think we do hear of more things amiss than we are willing to speak before our friends' faces." My Lord Bellassis would not take notice of

their reflecting on him, and did wisely. H. Cholmly and I to the Temple, and there walked in the dark in the walks talking of newes; and he surprises me with the certain newes that the King did last night in Council declare his being in treaty with the Dutch: that they had sent him a very civil letter, declaring that, if nobody but themselves were concerned, they would not dispute the place of treaty, but leave it to his choice; but that, being obliged to satisfy therein a Prince of equal quality with himself, they must except any place in England or Spayne. And so the King hath chosen the Hague, and thither hath chose my Lord Hollis and Harry Coventry¹ to go Embassadors to treat; which is so mean a thing, as all the world will believe, that we do go to beg a peace of them, whatever we pretend. And it seems all our Court are mightily for a peace, taking this to be the time to make one, while the King hath money, that he may save something of what the Parliament hath given him to put him out of debt, so as he may need the help of no more Parliaments, as to the point of money: but our debt is so great, and expence daily so increased, that I believe little of the money will be saved between this and the making of the peace up.

¹ Henry, third son of Thomas, first Lord Coventry; after the Restoration made a Groom of the Bedchamber, and elected M. P. for Droitwich. In 1664 he was sent Envoy Extraordinary to Sweden, where he remained two years, and was again employed on an embassy to the same Court in 1671. He also succeeded in negotiating the peace at Breda here alluded to, and in 1672 became Secretary of State, which office he resigned in 1679, on account of ill health. He died unmarried, December 7, 1686.

But that which troubles me most is, that we have chosen a son of Secretary Morris,¹ a boy never used to any business, to go Secretary to the Embassy, which shows how little we are sensible of the weight of the business upon us. God therefore give a good end to it, for I doubt it, and yet do much more doubt the issue of our continuing the war, for we are in no wise fit for it, and yet it troubles me to think what Sir H. Cholmly says, that he believes they will not give us any reparation for what we have suffered by the war, nor put us into any better condition than what we were in before the war, for that will be shamefull for us. Thence parted with him and home through the dark over the ruins by coach, with my sword drawn, to my office, where dispatched some business; and so home to supper and to bed. This morning came up to my wife's bedside, I being up dressing myself, little Will Mercer to be her Valentine; and brought her name writ upon blue paper in gold letters, done by himself, very pretty; and we were both well pleased with it. But I am also this year my wife's Valentine, and it will cost me 5*l.*; but that I must have laid out if we had not been Valentines.

15th. Up and with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes by coach to White Hall, where we attended upon the Duke of York to complain of the disorders the other day among the seamen at the Pay at the Ticket Office, and that it arises from lack of money, and that we

¹ Sir William Morris. He had several sons.

desire, unless better provided for with money, to have nothing more to do with the payment of tickets, it being not our duty; and the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry did agree to it, so that I hope we shall be rid of the trouble. This done, I moved for allowance for a house for Mr. Turner, and got it granted. That done, home and to dinner, where I hear Pegg Pen is married¹ this day privately; no friends, but two or three relations of his and hers. Borrowed many things of my kitchen for dressing their dinner. This wedding, being private, is imputed to its being just before Lent, and so in vain to make new clothes till Easter, that they might see the fashions as they are like to be this summer; which is reason good enough. Mrs. Turner tells me she hears Sir W. Pen gives 4,500*l.* or 4,000*l.* with her.

16th. To my Lord Brouncker's, and there was Sir Robert Murray, a most excellent man of reason and learning, and understands the doctrine of musique, and everything else I could discourse of, very finely. Here came Mr. Hooke, Sir George Ent, Dr. Wren, and many others; and by and by the musique, that is to say, Signor Vincentio,² who is the master-composer, and six more, whereof two eunuches, so tall, that Sir T. Harvey said well that he believes they do grow large as our oxen do, and one woman very well dressed and handsome enough, but would not be kissed, as Mr. Killigrew, who brought the company in, did ac-

¹ To Anthony Lowther.

² Perhaps the person called Vinnecotio, Feb. 12, 1666-7, *ante*.

quaint us. They sent two harpsicons before ; and by and by, after tuning they began ; and, I confess, very good musique they made ; that is, the composition exceeding good, but yet not at all more pleasing to me than what I have heard in English by Mrs. Knipp, Captain Cooke, and others. Nor do I dote on the eunuches ; they sing, indeed, pretty high, and have a mellow kind of sound, but yet I have been as well satisfied with several women's voices and men also, as Crispe of the Wardrobe. The women sung well, but that which distinguishes all is this, that in singing, the words are to be considered, and how they are fitted with notes, and then the common accent of the country is to be known and understood by the hearer, or he will never be a good judge of the vocal musique of another country. So that I was not taken with this at all, neither understanding the first, nor by practice reconciled to the latter, so that their motions, and risings and fallings, though it may be pleasing to an Italian, or one that understands the tongue, yet to me it did not, but do from my heart believe that I could set words in English, and make musique of them more agreeable to any Englishman's eare (the most judicious) than any Italian musique set for the voice, and performed before the same man, unless he be acquainted with the Italian accent of speech. The composition as to the musique part was exceeding good, and their justness in keeping time by practice much before any that we have, unless it be a good band of practised fiddlers. To Mrs. Pierce's, and there I find Mrs.

Pierce's little girl is my Valentine, she having drawn me ; which I was not sorry for, it easing me of something more that I must have given to others. But here I do first observe the fashion of drawing of mottos as well as names ; so that Pierce, who drew my wife, did draw also a motto, and this girl drew another for me. What mine was I have forgot ; but my wife's was, "Most virtuous and most fair ;" which, as it may be used, or an anagram made upon each name, might be very pretty. One wonder I observed to-day, that there was no musique in the morning to call up our new-married people, which is very mean, methinks.

17th (Lord's day). To the Duke's, where we all met and had a hot encounter before the Duke of York about the business of our payments at the Ticket Office. I did plainly declare that, without money, no fleete could be expected, and desired the Duke to take notice of it, and notice was taken of it, but I doubt will do no good. Sir W. Coventry plainly said that he did believe it would be a better work for the King than going to church this morning to send for the Attorney Generall to meet at the Lord Treasurer's this afternoon and to bring the thing to an issue, saying that he himself, were he going to the Sacrament, would not think he should offend God to leave it and go to the ending this work, so much it is of moment to the King and Kingdom. Hereupon the Duke of York said he would presently speak and cause it to be done this afternoon. Having done here we broke up, and after dinner to my Lord Chancellor's, where I

met with, and had much pretty discourse with, one of the Progers's that knew me ; and it was pretty to hear him tell me, of his own accord, as a matter of no shame, that in Spayne he had a pretty woman, his mistress, whom, when money grew scarce with him, he was forced to leave, and afterwards heard how she and her husband lived well, she being kept by an old fryer ; but this, says he, is better than as our ministers do, who have wives that lay up their estates, and do no good nor relieve any poor—no, not our greatest prelates. Staid till the Council was up, and attended the King and Duke of York round the Park, and was asked several questions by both ; but I was in pain, lest they should ask me what I could not answer ; as the Duke of York did the value of the hull of the St. Patrick lately lost, which I told him I could not presently answer ; though I might have easily furnished myself to answer all those questions. They stood a good while to see the ganders and geese in the water. At home, by appointment, comes Captain Cocke to me, to talk of State matters, and about the peace ; who told me that the whole business is managed between Kevet, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and my Lord Arlington, who hath, through his wife¹ there, some interest. We have proposed the Hague, but know not yet whether the Dutch will like it ; or, if they do, whether the French will. We think we shall have the help of the information of their affairs and state, and

¹ See *ante*, Nov. 15, 1666.

the helps of the Prince of Orange his faction; but above all, that De Witt, who hath all this while said he cannot get peace, his mouth will now be stopped, so that he will be forced to offer fit terms for fear of the people; and, lastly, if France or Spayne do not please us, we are in a way presently to clap up a peace with the Dutch, and secure them. But we are also in treaty with France, as he says: but it must be to the excluding our alliance with the King of Spayne or House of Austria: which we do not know presently what will be determined in. He tells me the Vice Chamberlaine is so great with the King, that, let the Duke of York, and Sir W. Coventry, and this office, do or say what they will, while the King lives, Sir G. Carteret will do what he will; and advises me to be often with him, and eat and drink with him; and tells me that he doubts he is jealous of me, and was mighty mad to-day at our discourse to him before the Duke of York. But I did give him my reasons that the office is concerned to declare that, without money, the King's work cannot go on. He assures me that Henry Brouncker is one of the shrewdest fellows for parts in England, and a dangerous man; that, while we want money so much in the Navy, the Officers of the Ordnance have at this day 300,000*l.* good in tallies, which they can command money upon, got by over-estimating their charge in getting it reckoned as a fifth part of the expense of the Navy; that Harry Coventry, who is to go upon this treaty with Lord Hollis, who he confesses to be a very wise man, into

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Holland, is a mighty quick, ready man, but not so weighty as he should be, he knowing him so well in his drink as he do : that, unless the King do something against my Lord Mordaunt and the Patent for the Canary Company, before the Parliament next meets, he do believe there will be a civil war before there will be any more money given, unless it may be at their perfect disposal ; and that all things are now ordered to the provoking of the Parliament against they come next, and the spending the King's money, so as to put him into a necessity of having it at the time it is prorogued for, or sooner. This evening, going to the Queen's side¹ to see the ladies, I did find the Queene, the Duchesse of York, and another or two, at cards, with the room full of great ladies and men ; which I was amazed at to see on a Sunday, having not believed it ; but, contrarily, flatly denied the same a little while since to my cozen Roger Pepys.² Going by water, read the answer to "The Apology for Papists,"³ which did like me mightily, it being a thing as well writ as I think most things that ever I read in my life, and glad I am that I read it.

18th. To the King's house, to "The Mayd's Tragedy ;" but vexed all the while with two talking ladies and Sir Charles Sedley ; yet pleased to hear their discourse, he being a stranger. And one of the ladies would, and did sit with her mask on, all the play, and,

¹ Her Majesty's apartments, at Whitehall Palace.

² See 27th Jan., *ante*.

³ See Dec. 1, 1666, *ante*.

being exceeding witty as ever I heard woman, did talk most pleasantly with him ; but was, I believe, a virtuous woman, and of quality. He would fain know who she was, but she would not tell ; yet did give him many pleasant hints of her knowledge of him, by that means setting his brains at work to find out who she was, and did give him leave to use all means to find out who she was, but pulling off her mask. He was mighty witty, and she also making sport with him very inoffensively, that a more pleasant rencontre I never heard. But by that means lost the pleasure of the play wholly, to which now and then Sir Charles Sedley's exceptions against both words and pronouncing were very pretty.

19th. To the office, where all the morning doing little business, our want of money being so infinite great. At noon home, and there find old Mr. Michell and Howlett come to desire mine and my wife's company to dinner to their son's, and so away by coach with them, it being Betty's wedding-day a year, as also Shrove Tuesday. Here I made myself mighty merry, and a mighty pretty dinner we had in this little house, to my exceeding great content, and my wife's, and my heart pleased to see Betty. After dinner I fell to read the Acts about the building of the City again ; and indeed the laws seem to be very good, and I pray God I may live to see it built in that manner ! This morning I hear that our discourse of peace is all in the dirt ; for the Dutch will not like of the peace, or at least the French will not agree to it ; so

that I do wonder what we shall do, for carry on the war we cannot.

20th. To White Hall, by the way observing Sir W. Pen's carrying a favour to Sir W. Coventry, for his daughter's wedding, and saying that there was others for us, when we will fetch them, which vexed me, and I am resolved not to wear it when he gives me one. His wedding hath been so poorly kept, that I am ashamed of it; for a fellow that makes such a flutter as he do. When we came to the Duke of York here, I heard discourse how Harris of his play-house is sick, and everybody commends him, and, above all things, for acting the Cardinall. They talked how the King's viallin, Bannister,¹ is mad that the King hath a Frenchman² come to be chief of some part of the King's musique, at which the Duke of York made great mirth. Then withdrew to his closett, where all our business, lack of money and prospect of the effects of it, such as made Sir W. Coventry say publickly before us all, that he do heartily wish that his Royal Highness had nothing to do in the Navy, whatever become of him; and much dishonour, he says, is likely to fall under the management of it. The Duke of York was angry,

¹ John Banister, who had been bred up, under his father, one of the Waits in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, was sent by Charles II. to France, for improvement; but soon after his return, he was dismissed the King's service, for saying that the English violins were better than the French. He afterwards kept a music school in Whitefriars, and died in 1679. — HAWKINS'S *Hist. of Music*.

² Louis Grabu: see 1st October, 1667, and North's "Memoirs of Musick," by Rimbault, p. 110.

as much as he could be, or ever I saw him, with Sir G. Carteret, for not paying the masters of some ships on Monday last, according to his promise. Thence to the Exchequer, and there find the people in readiness to dispatch my tallys to-day, though Ash Wednesday. So I back by coach to London to Sir Robert Viner's and there got 100*l.* and came away with it and pay my fees round and so away with the 'Chequer men, to the Leg, in King Street, and there had wine for them; and there was one in company with them, that was the man that got the vessel to carry over the King from Bredhemson,¹ who hath a pension of 200*l.* per annum,² but ill paid, and the man is looking after getting of a prize-ship to live by; but the trouble is, that this poor man, who hath received no part of his money these four years, and is ready to starve almost, must yet pay to the Poll Bill for this pension. He told me several particulars of the King's coming thither, which was mighty pleasant, and shows how mean a thing a king is, how subject to fall, and how like other men he is in his afflictions. I with Lord Bellassis to the Lord Chancellor's. Lord Bellassis tells me how the King of France hath caused the stop to be made to our proposition of treating in the Hague; that he being

¹ Brighthelmstone.

² Nicholas Tetttersell, the master of a coal-brig, on board of which Charles II. embarked, and was safely landed at Fecamb, in Normandy. The Captain, after the Restoration, brought the vessel up the Thames, and moored her opposite Whitehall, and procured an annuity of 100*l.* by this expedient. He lies buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas, Brighton, where an inscription to his memory may still be seen.

greater than they, we may better come and treat at Paris: so that God knows what will become of the peace! He tells me, too, as a grand secret, that he do believe the peace offensive and defensive between Spayne and us is quite finished, but must not be known, to prevent the King of France's present falling upon Flanders. He do believe the Duke of York will be made General of the Spanish armies there, and Governor of Flanders, if the French should come against it, and we assist the Spaniard: that we have done the Spaniard abundance of mischief in the West Indys, by our privateers at Jamaica, which they lament mightily, and I am sorry for it to have it done at this time. By and by, come to my Lord Chancellor, who heard mighty quietly my complaints for lack of money, and spoke mighty kind to me, but little hopes of help therein, only his good word. He do confess our straits here and every where else arise from our outspending our revenue. I mean that the King do do so. Thence away, took up my wife, who tells me her brother has laid out much money upon himself and wife for clothes, which I am sorry to hear, it requiring great expense.

21st. To the Office, where sat all the morning, and there a most furious conflict between Sir W. Pen and I, in few words, and on a sudden occasion, of no great moment, but very bitter and smart on one another, and so broke off, and to our business, my heart as full of spite as it could hold, for which God forgive me and him! At the end come witnesses on behalf

of Mr. Carcasse ; but, instead of clearing him, I find they were brought to recriminate Sir W. Batten, and did it by oath very highly, that made the old man mad, and, I confess, me ashamed, so that I caused all but ourselves to withdraw, being sorry to have such things declared in the open office, before 100 people. But it was done home, and I believe true, though W. Batten denies all, but is cruel mad, and swore one of them, he or Carcasse, should not continue in the Office, which is said like a fool. I home, my head and mind vexed about the conflict between Sir W. Pen and I, though I have got, not lost any ground by it. Then to the office, where did much business and walked an hour or two with Lord Brouncker, who is mightily concerned in this business for Carcasse and against Sir W. Batten, and I do hope it will come to a good height, for I think it will be good for the King as well as for me, that they two do not agree, though I do, for ought I see yet, think that my Lord is for the most part in the right.

22nd. All of us, that is to say, Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Batten, T. Harvy, and myself, to Sir W. Pen's house, where some other company. It is instead of a wedding dinner for his daughter, whom I saw in palterly clothes, nothing new but a bracelet that her servant had given her,¹ and ugly she is, as heart can wish. A sorry dinner, not anything handsome or clean, but some silver plates they borrowed

¹ Anthony Lowther, before the marriage.

of me. My wife was here too. So a great deal of talk, and I seemingly merry, but took no pleasure at all. We had favours given us all, and we put them in our hats, I against my will, but that my Lord and the rest did. I being displeased that he did carry Sir W. Coventry's himself several days ago, and the people up and down the town long since, and we must have them but to-day. I away to my office, to draw up a letter of the state of the Office and Navy for the Duke of York against Sunday next, and at it late and then home to supper and to bed, talking with my wife of the poorness and meanness of all that Sir W. Pen and the people about us do, compared with what we do.

23rd. This day I am, by the blessing of God, 34 years old, in very good health and mind's content, and in condition of estate much beyond whatever my friends could expect of a child of their's, this day 34 years. The Lord's name be praised ! and may I be thankful for it.

24th (Lord's day). My Lady Pen did, going out of church, ask me whether we did not make a great show at Court to-day, with all our favours in our hats. To White Hall, and there meeting my Lord Arlington, he, by I know not what kindness, offered to carry me along with him to my Lord Treasurer's, whither, I told him, I was going. I believe he had a mind to discourse of some Navy businesses, but Sir Thomas Clifford coming into the coach to us, we were prevented ; which I was sorry for, for I had a mind to

begin an acquaintance with him. He speaks well, and hath pretty slight superficial parts, I believe. He, in our going, talked much of the plain habit of the Spaniards; how the King and Lords themselves wear but a cloak of Colchester bayze,¹ and the ladies mantles, in cold weather, of white flannell: and that the endeavours frequently of setting up the manufacture of making these stuffs there have only been prevented by the Inquisition: the English and Dutchmen that have been sent for to work being taken with a Psalm-book or Testament, and so clapped up, and the house pulled down by the Inquisitors; and the greatest Lord in Spayne dare not say a word against it, if the word Inquisition be but mentioned. Captain Cocke did tell me what I must not forget: that the answer of the Dutch, refusing the Hague for a place of treaty, and proposing Boyssse,² Bredah, Bergen-op-Zoome, or Mاستricht, was seemingly stopped by the Swede's Ambassador (though he did show it to the King, but the King would take no notice of it, nor does not) from being delivered to the King; and he hath wrote to desire them to consider better of it: so that, though we know their refusal of the place, yet they know not that we know it, nor is the King obliged to show his sense of the affront. That the Dutch are in very great straits, so as to be said to be

¹ "*Bays, and says, and serges, and several sorts of stuffs, which I neither can nor do desire to name, are made in and about Colchester.*"—FULLER'S *Worthies*.

² Bois-le-Duc.

not able to set out their fleete this year. By and by comes Sir Robert Viner and my Lord Mayor to ask the King's directions about measuring out the streets according to the new Act¹ for building of the City, wherein the King is to be pleased.² But he says that the way proposed in Parliament, by Colonel Birch, would have been the best, to have chosen some persons in trust, and sold the whole ground, and let it be sold again by them, with preference to the old owner, which would have certainly caused the City to be built where these Trustees pleased; whereas now, great differences will be, and the streets built by fits, and not entire till all differences be decided. This, as he tells it, I think would have been the best way. I enquired about the Frenchman that was said to fire the City, and was hanged for it, by his own confession, that he was hired for it by a Frenchman of Roane, and that he did with a stick reach in a fire-ball in at a window of the house: whereas the master of the house, who is the King's baker, and his son, and daughter, do all swear there was no such window, and that the fire did not begin thereabouts. Yet the fellow, who, though a mopish besotted fellow, did not speak like a madman, did swear that he did fire it: and did not this like a madman; for, being tried on

¹ Entitled An Act for Rebuilding the City of London, 19th Car. II. cap. 3.

² See Sir Christopher Wren's Proposals for rebuilding the City of London after the great fire, with an engraved Plan of the principal Streets and Public Buildings, in Elme's "*Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren*," Appendix, p. 61. The originals are in All Souls' College Library, Oxford.

purpose, and landed with his keeper at the Town Wharf, he could carry the keeper to the very house. Asking Sir R. Viner what he thought was the cause of the fire, he tells me, that the baker, son, and his daughter, did all swear again and again, that their oven was drawn by ten o'clock at night: that, having occasion to light a candle about twelve, there was not so much fire in the bakehouse as to light a match for a candle, so that they were fain to go into another place to light it: that about two in the morning they felt themselves almost choked with smoke, and rising, did find the fire coming upstairs; so they rose to save themselves; but that, at that time, the bavins¹ were not on fire in the yard. So that they are, as they swear, in absolute ignorance how this fire should come; which is a strange thing, that so horrid an effect should have so mean and uncertain a beginning. By and by called into the King and Cabinet, and there had a few insipid words about money for Tangier, but to no purpose. Going through bridge by water, my waterman told me how the mistress of the Beare tavern, at the bridge-foot, did lately fling herself into the Thames, and drowned herself; which did trouble me the more, when they tell me it was she that did live at the White Horse tavern in Lumbard Streete, which was a most beautiful woman, as most I have seen. It seems she hath had long melancholy upon her, and hath endeavoured to make away with herself often.

¹ Faggots.

25th. Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires, and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch ! in our little room at my Lord Sandwich's ; for which I ought for ever to love and admire her, and do ; and persuade myself she would do the same thing again, if God should reduce us to it. At my goldsmith's did observe the King's new medall, where, in little, there is Mrs. Stewart's face as well done as ever I saw anything in my whole life, I think : and a pretty thing it is, that he should choose her face to represent Britannia by.

27th. Up by candle-light, about six o'clock, and by water down to Woolwich, I being at leisure this day, the King and Duke of York being gone down to Sheerensse to lay out the design for a fortification there to the river Medway ;¹ and so we do not attend the Duke of York as we should otherwise have done. To the Dock Yard, and went into Mr. Pett's ; and there, beyond expectation, he did present me with a Japan cane, with a silver head, and his wife sent me by him a ring, with a Woolwich stone,² now much in

¹ The first fortification at Sheerness was erected by Sir Bernard de Gomme. The original draft is in the British Museum: see *post*, March 24, 1667, note.

² Woolwich stones, still collected in that locality, are simply water-worn pebbles of flint, which, when broken with a hammer, exhibit on the smooth surface some resemblance to the human face; and their possessors are thus enabled to trace likenesses of friends, or eminent public characters. Mr. Tennant, the geologist, of the Strand, has a collection of such stones. In the British Museum is a nodule of globular or Egyptian jasper, which, in its fracture, bears a striking resemblance to the well-known portrait of Chaucer. It is engraved in Rymsdyk's "*Museum Britannicum*," tab. xxviii. A flint,

request ; which I accepted, the values not being great : and then, at my asking, did give me an old draught of an ancient-built ship, given him by his father, of the Beare, in Queen Elizabeth's time. This did much please me, it being a thing I much desired to have, to show the difference in the build of ships now and heretofore. Being much taken with this kindness, I away, and so home, there find Mr. Hunt, newly come out of the country, who tells me the country ¹ is much impoverished by the greatness of taxes : the farmers do break every day almost, and 1,000*l.* a-year become not worth 500*l.* He told me some ridiculous pieces of thrift of Sir G. Downing's, who is his countryman, in inviting some poor people, at Christmas last, to charm the country people's mouths ; but did give them nothing but beef, porridge, pudding, and pork, and nothing said all dinner, but only his mother ² would say, "It's good broth, son." He would answer, "Yes, it is good broth." Then, says his lady, "Confirm all, and say, Yes, very good broth." By and by she would begin and say, "Good pork : " "Yes," says the mother, "good pork." Then he cries, "Yes, very good pork." And so they said of all things ; to which nobody made any answer, they going there not out of love or esteem

showing Mr. Pitt's face, used once to be exhibited at the meetings of the Pitt Club.

¹ Cambridgeshire.

² Sir George Downing's mother was Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Robert Brett, D.D. His wife, Lady Downing, was Francis, fourth daughter of William Howard, of Naworth, and sister of Charles Howard, the first Earl of Carlisle of that family.

of them, but to eat his victuals, knowing him to be a niggardly fellow ; and with this he is jeered now all over the country. Comes Captain Story, of Cambridge, to me, about a bill for prest money ;¹ but, Lord ! to see the natures of men ; how this man, hearing of my name, did ask me of my country, and told me of my cozen Roger, that he was not so wise a man as his father ; for that he do not agree in Parliament with his fellow burgesses and knights of the shire, whereas I know very well the reason ; for he is not so high a flyer as Mr. Chichley and others, but loves the King better than any of them, and to better purpose. But yet, he says that he is a very honest gentleman, and thence runs into a hundred stories of his own services to the King, and how he at this day brings in the taxes before anybody here thinks they are collected : discourse very absurd to entertain a stranger with. Met Mr. Cooling, who tells me of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's being sent for last night, by a Serjeant at Armes,² to the Tower, for treasonable practices, and that the King is infinitely angry with him, and declared him no longer one of his Council. I know not the reason of it, or occasion. Took up my wife to the Exchange, and there bought things for Mr. Pierce's little daughter, my Valentine, and so to her house, where we find Knipp, who also challenged me for her Valentine. She looks well, sang well, and very merry we were for half an hour. Tells me Harris is

¹ Earnest money, given to a soldier who is enlisted. — BAILEY.

² Bearcroft ; see 3rd March, *post*.

well again, having been very ill. To Sir W. Pen's, and sat with my Lady, and the young couple¹ (Sir William out of town) talking merrily; but they make a very sorry couple, methinks, though rich.

28th. Up, and there comes to me Drumbleby with a flageolet, made to suit with my former and brings me one Greeting, a master, to teach my wife. I agree by the whole he is to teach her to take out any lesson of herself for 4/. Mr. Holliard dined with us, and pleasant company he is. I love his company, and he secures me against ever having the stone again. He gives it me, as his opinion, that the City will never be built again together, as is expected, while any restraint is laid upon them. He hath been a great loser, and would be a builder again, but, he says, he knows not what restricting there will be, so as it is unsafe for him to begin. He gone, I to my accounts, wherein, beyond expectation, I succeeded so well as to settle them very clear and plain, and, blessed be God, upon the evening my accounts, I do appear 6,800/. creditor. I did within these six days see smoke still remaining of the late fire in the City; and it is strange to think how, to this very day, I cannot sleep at night without great terrors of fire. Thus this month is ended with great content of mind to me, thriving in my estate, and the affairs in my offices going pretty well as to myself. This afternoon Mr. Gauden² tells me more than I knew before—

¹ Anthony Lowther and his wife Margaret Penn.

² The victualler.

that he hath orders to get all the victuals he can to Plymouth, and the Western ports, and other out-ports, and some to Scotland, so that we do intend to keep but a flying fleete this year ; which, it may be, may preserve us a year longer, but the end of it must be ruin. Sir J. Minnes this night tells me, that he hears for certain, that ballads are made of us in Holland for begging of a peace ; which I expected, but am vexed at. So ends this month, with nothing of weight upon my mind, but for my father and mother, who are both very ill, and have been so for some weeks : whom God help ! but I do fear my poor father will hardly be ever thoroughly well again.

March 1st. Sent for to Sir G. Carteret to discourse of the business of the Navy, and our wants, and the best way of bestowing the little money we have, which is about 30,000*l.*, but, God knows, we have need of ten times as much, which do make my life unfortunate, I confess, on the King's behalf, though it is well enough as to my own particular, but the King's service is undone by it. In Mark Lane I do observe, it being St. David's day, the picture of a man dressed like a Welchman, hanging by the neck upon one of the poles that stand out at the top of one of the merchants' houses, in full proportion, and very handsomely done ; which is one of the oddest sights I have seen a good while.¹ Being returned home, I

¹ From "Poor Robin's Almanack" for 1757, it appears that, in former times in England, a Welshman was burnt in effigy on this anniversary. See Dyer's "British Popular Customs." (M. B.)

find Greeting, the flageolet master, come, and teaching my wife ; and I do think my wife will take pleasure in it, and it will be easy for her, and pleasant. So to the office, and then before dinner making my wife to sing. Poor wretch ! her ear is so bad that it made me angry, till the poor wretch cried to see me so vexed at her, that I think I shall not discourage her so much again, but will endeavour to make her understand sounds, and do her good that way ; for she hath a great mind to learn, only to please me ; and, therefore, I am mighty unjust to her in discouraging her so much, but we were good friends. But I cannot but remember that just before dinner one of my people came up to me, and told me that a man come from Huntingdon would speak with me, how my heart came into my mouth doubting that my father, who has been long sicke, was dead. It put me into a trembling, but, blessed be God ! it was no such thing, but a countryman come about ordinary business to me, to receive 50*l.* paid to my father for the Perkins's for their legacy. So though I get nothing at present, at least by the estate, I am fain to pay the money rather than rob my father. I hear to-day that Tom Woodall, the known chyrurgeon, is killed at Somerset House by a Frenchman in a drunken quarrel.

2nd. Sir W. Pen this day did bring an order from the Duke of York for our receiving from him a small vessel for a fireship, and taking away a better of the King's for it, it being expressed for his great service to the King. This I am glad of, not for his sake, but

that it will give me a better ground, I believe, to ask something for myself of this kind, which I was fearful to begin. This do make Sir W. Pen the most kind to me that can be. I suppose it is, lest it should find any opposition from me, but will not oppose, but promote it. After dinner, with my wife, to the King's house to see "The Maiden Queene," a new play of Dryden's, mightily commended for the regularity of it, and the strain and wit; and, the truth is, there is a comical part done by Nell, which is Florimell, that I never can hope ever to see the like done again, by man or woman. The King and Duke of York were at the play. But so great performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before as Nell do this, both as a mad girle, then most and best of all when she comes in like a young gallant; and hath the motions and carriage of a spark the most that ever I saw any man have. It makes me, I confess, admire her.

3rd (Lord's day). To White Hall, where, walking in the galleries, I met Mr. Pierce, who tells me the story of Tom Woodall, the surgeon, killed in a drunken quarrel, and how the Duke of York hath a mind to get him [Pierce] one of his places in St. Thomas's Hospitall. It is believed that the Dutch will yield to have the treaty at London or Dover, neither of which will get our King any credit, we having already consented to have it at the Hague; which, it seems, De Witt opposed, as a thing wherein the King of England must needs have some profound design, which in my

conscience he hath not. They do also tell me that newes is this day come to the King, that the King of France is come with his army to the frontiers of Flanders, demanding leave to pass through their country towards Poland, but is denied, and thereupon that he is gone into the country. How true this is I dare not believe till I hear more. I walked into the Parke, it being a fine but very cold day; and there took two or three turns the length of the Pell Mell: and there I met Serjeant Bearcroft, who was sent for the Duke of Buckingham, to have brought him prisoner to the Tower. He came to towne this day, and brings word that, being overtaken and outrid by the Duchesse of Buckingham within a few miles of Westhorp,¹ he believes she got thither about a quarter of an hour before him, and so had time to consider; so that, when he came, the doors were kept shut against him. The next day, coming with officers of the neighbour market-town to force open the doors, they were open for him, but the Duke gone; so he took horse presently, and heard upon the road that the Duke of Buckingham was gone before him for London: so that he believes he is this day also come to town before him; but no newes is yet heard of him. This is all he brings. Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there, meeting Sir H. Cholmly, he and I walked in my Lord's garden, and talked; and, among other

¹ Westhorpe, in Suffolk, originally the magnificent residence of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk: it was probably afterwards granted by the Crown to the Duke of Buckingham. The house has long since been demolished.

things, of the treaty : and he says there will certainly be a peace, but I cannot believe it. He tells me that the Duke of Buckingham his crimes, as far as he knows, are his being of a caball with some discontented persons of the late House of Commons, and opposing the desires of the King in all his matters in that House ; and endeavouring to become popular, and advising how the Commons' House should proceed, and how he would order the House of Lords. And that he hath been endeavouring to have the King's nativity calculated ; which was done, and the fellow now in the Tower about it ; which itself hath heretofore, as he says, been held treason, and people died for it ; but by the Statute of Treason, in Queen Mary's times and since, it hath been left out. He tells me that this silly Lord hath provoked, by his ill-carriage, the Duke of York, my Lord Chancellor, and all the great persons ; and therefore, most likely, will die. He tells me, too, many practices of treachery against this King ; as betraying him in Scotland, and giving Oliver an account of the King's private councils ; which the King knows very well, and hath yet pardoned him. I home, and there to read very good things in Fuller's "Church History and Worthies," and so to supper, and after supper had much good discourse with W. Hewer about the ticket office and the knaveries and extortions every day used there, and particularly of the business of Mr. Carcasse, whom I fear I shall find a very rogue.

4th. Up and with Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten,

by barge to Deptford to look after business there and so to Woolwich, where our business was chiefly to look upon the ballast wharfe there, which is offered us for the King's use to hire, but we do not think it worth the laying out much money upon, unless we could buy the fee-simple of it, which cannot be sold us, so we wholly flung it off. So home and upon Tower Hill meeting with my old acquaintance Mr. Chaplin, the cheesemonger, he tells me for certain the King of France is denied passage with his army through Flanders, and that he hears that the Dutch do stand upon high terms with us, and will have a promise of not being obliged to strike the flag to us before they will treat with us, and other high things, which I am ashamed of and do hope will never be yielded to. That they do make all imaginable preparations, but that he believes they will be in mighty want of men.

5th. To the office and there all the afternoon late doing much business and then to see Sir W. Batten. I by discourse do perceive he and his Lady are to their hearts out with my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams, to which I added something, but, I think, did not venture too far with them. But, Lord ! to see to what a poor content any acquaintance among these people, or the people of the world, as they now-a-days go, is worth ; for my part I and my wife will keep to one another and let the world go hang, for there is nothing but falseness in it. So home to supper and hear my wife and girle sing a little and then to bed with much content of mind.

6th. To White Hall; and here the Duke of York did acquaint us, and the King did the like also, afterwards coming in, with his resolution of altering the manner of the war this year: that is, we shall keep what fleete we have abroad in several squadrons: so that now all is come out; but we are to keep it as close as we can, without hindering the work that is to be done in preparation to this. Great preparations there are to fortify Sheernesse and the yard at Portsmouth, and forces are drawing down to both those places, and elsewhere by the seaside; so that we have some fear of an invasion; and the Duke of York himself did declare his expectation of the enemy's blocking us up here in the River, and therefore directed that we should send away all the ships that we have to fit out hence. Sir W. Pen told me, going with me this morning to White Hall, that for certain the Duke of Buckingham is brought into the Tower, and that he hath had an hour's private conference with the King before he was sent thither. Every body complains of the dearness of coals, being at 4*l.* per chaldron, the weather, too, being become most bitter cold, the King saying to-day that it was the coldest day he ever knew in England. Thence by coach to my Lord Crew's, where very welcome. Here I find they are in doubt where the Duke of Buckingham is; which makes me mightily reflect on the uncertainty of all history, when, in a business of this moment, and of this day's growth, we cannot tell the truth. Here dined my old acquaintance, Mr. Borfett, that was my Lord Sandwich's

chaplain, and my Lady Wright and Dr. Boreman, who is preacher at St. Gyles's in the Fields, who, after dinner, did give my Lord an account of two papist women lately converted, whereof one wrote her recantation, which he showed under her own hand mightily well drawn, so as my Lord desired a copy of it, after he had satisfied himself from the Dr., that to his knowledge she was not a woman under any necessity. To Deptford, and then by water home, wondrous cold, and reading a ridiculous ballad made in praise of the Duke of Albemarle, to the tune of St. George, the tune being printed, too; and I observe that people have great encouragement to make ballads of him of this kind. There are so many, that hereafter he will sound like Guy of Warwicke. To Sir H. Cholmly's, a pretty house, and a fine, worthy, well-disposed gentleman he is. He tells me, among other things, that he hears of little hopes of a peace, their demands being so high as we shall never grant, and could tell me that we shall keep no fleete abroad this year, but only squadrons. And, among other things, that my Lord Bellassis, he believes, will lose his command of Tangier by his corrupt covetous ways of endeavouring to sell his command, which I am glad of, for he is a man of no worth in the world but compliment. So to the 'Change, and there bought 32*s.* worth of things for Mrs. Knipp, my valentine, which is pretty to see how my wife is come to convention with me, that, whatever I do give to anybody else, I shall give her as much.

7th. Hearing that Knipp is at my house, I home,

and it is about a ticket for a friend of her's. I do love the humour of the jade very well. To Devonshire House,¹ to a burial of a kinsman of Sir R. Viner's; and there I received a ring. To the Duke's playhouse, and saw "The English Princesse, or Richard the Third;"² a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good; but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are; only little Miss Davis³ did dance a jig after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play; so that it came in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boy's clothes; and, the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day⁴ at the King's house in boy's clothes and this, this being

¹ Devonshire House was in Bishopsgate Street, where Devonshire Square now stands.

² A tragedy, by J. Caryl.

³ Mary Davis, some time a comedian in the Duke of York's troop, and one of those actresses who boarded with Sir W. Davenant, was, according to Pepys, a natural daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire. She captivated the King by the charming manner in which she sang a ballad beginning, "My lodging it is on the cold ground," when acting Celania, a shepherdess mad for love in the play of "The Rivals." Charles took her off the stage, and she had by him a daughter named Mary Tudor, married to Francis, second Earl of Derwentwater; and their son James, the third Earl, was attainted and beheaded for high treason. Miss Davis was also a fine dancer: see Hawkins's "History of Music," vol. iv. p. 525, where the ballad alluded to will be found; which, as Downes quaintly observes, "raised the fair songstress from her bed on the cold ground to the bed royal." According to another account, she was the daughter of a blacksmith at Charlton, in Wiltshire, where a family of the name of Davis had exercised that calling for many generations, and has but lately become extinct. There is a beautiful whole-length portrait of Mary Davis, by Kneller, at Audley End, in which she is represented as a tall, handsome woman; and her general appearance ill accords with the description given of her by our Journalist.

⁴ As Florimel, in "The Maiden Queen."

infinitely beyond the other. This day, Commissioner Taylor came to me for advice, and would force me to take ten pieces in gold of him, which I had no mind to, he being become one of our number at the Board. This day was reckoned by all people the coldest day that ever was remembered in England; and, God knows! coals at a very great price.¹

8th. To Westminster Hall, where I saw Mr. Martin, the purser, come through with a picture in his hand, which he had bought, and observed how all the people of the Hall did flee and laugh upon him, crying, "There is plenty grown upon a sudden;" and, the truth is, I was a little troubled that my favour should fall on so vain a fellow as he, and the more because, methought, the people do gaze upon me as the man that had raised him, and as if they guessed whence my kindness to him springs. To White Hall, where I find all met at the Duke of York's chamber; and, by and by, the Duke of York comes, and Carcasse is called in, and I read the depositions and his answers, and he added with great confidence and good words, even almost to persuasion, what to say; and my Lord Brouncker, like a very silly solicitor, argued against me, and all for him; and, being asked first by the Duke of York his opinion, did give it for his being excused. I next did answer the contrary very plainly,

¹ 4*l.* the chaldron. On Nov. 26th, *post*, he speaks of them as being 5*l.* 10*s.* In 1812, "Napoleon's winter," 6*l.* 6*s.* were paid in the suburbs of London; an extraordinary price; but, the difference of money considered, cheap, when compared with 1667.

and had, in this dispute, which vexed and will never be forgot by my Lord, many occasions of speaking severely, and did, against his bad practices. Commissioner Pett, like a fawning rogue, sided with my Lord, but to no purpose ; and Sir W. Pen, like a cunning rogue, spoke mighty indifferently, and said nothing in all the fray, like a knave as he is. But Sir W. Batten spoke out, and did come off himself by the Duke's kindness very well ; and then Sir G. Carteret, and Sir W. Coventry, and the Duke of York himself, flatly as I said ; and so he ¹ was declared unfit to continue in, and therefore to be presently discharged the office ; which, among other good effects, I hope, will make my Lord Brouncker not *alloquer* so high. Sir H. Cholmly and I to the Temple, and there parted, he telling me of my Lord Bellassis's want of generosity, and that he [Bellassis] will certainly be turned out of his government, and he [Cholmly] thinks himself stands fair for it. So home, and there found, as I expected, Mrs. Pierce and Mr. Batelier, but no Mrs. Knipp come, which vexed me. So with one fiddler we danced away the evening, but I was not well contented with the littleness of the room, and my wife's want of preparing things ready, as they should be, for supper.

9th. To the office, where a meeting extraordinary about settling the number and wages of my Lord Brouncker's clerks for his new work upon the Treasurer's accounts. He is most dissatisfied with me, and

¹ Carcasse's dismissal from office is clearly alluded to in his verses. See *ante*, Sept. 2, 1666, note.

I am not sorry for it, having all the world but him on my side therein. He did speak many severe words to me, and I returned as many to him, so that I do think there cannot for a great while be any right peace between us; but however, I must look about me and mind my business, for I perceive by his threats and enquiries he will endeavour to find out something against me or mine. Captain Cocke, who was here to-night, did tell us that he is certain that yesterday a proclamation was voted at the Council, touching the proclaiming of my Lord Duke of Buckingham a traytor, and that it will be out on Monday.

10th (Lord's day). Yesterday the King did publicly talk of the King of France's dealing with all the Princes of Christendome. As to the States of Holland, he [the King of France] hath advised them, on good grounds, to refuse to treat with us at the Hague, because of having opportunity of spies, by reason of our interest in the House of Orange; and then, it being a town in one particular province, it would not be fit to have it, but in a town wherein the provinces have equal interest, as at Mاسترخت, and other places named. That he advises them to offer no terms, nor accept of any, without his privy and consent, according to agreement; and tells them, if not so, he hath in his power to be even with them, the King of England being come to offer any terms he pleases; and that my Lord St. Albans is now at Paris, Plenipotentiary, to make what peace he pleases; and so he can make it, and exclude them, the Dutch, if he sees fit. A copy of this letter

of the King of France's the Spanish Ambassador here gets, and comes and tells all to our King ; which our King denies, and says the King of France only uses his power of saying anything. At the same time, the King of France writes to the Emperor, that he is resolved to do all things to express affection to the Emperor, having it now in his power to make what peace he pleases between the King of England and him, and the states of the United Provinces ; and, therefore, that he would not have him concern himself in a friendship with us ; and assures him that, on that regard, he will not offer anything to his disturbance, in his interest in Flanders, or elsewhere. He writes, at the same time, to Spayne, to tell him that he wonders to hear of a league almost ended between the Crown of Spayne and England, by my Lord Sandwich, and all without his privity, while he was making a peace upon what terms he pleased with England : that he is a great lover of the Crown of Spayne, and would take the King and his affairs, during his minority, into his protection, nor would offer to set his foot in Flanders, or any where else, to disturb him ; and, therefore, would not have him to trouble himself to make peace with any body ; only he hath a desire to offer an exchange, which he thinks may be of moment to both sides : that is, that he [France] will enstate the King of Spayne in the kingdom of Portugall, and he and the Dutch will put him into possession of Lisbon ; and, that being done, he [France] may have Flanders : and this, they say, do mightily take in Spayne, which is sensible of

the fruitless expence Flanders, so far off, gives them ; and how much better it would be for them to be master of Portugall ; and the King of France offers, for security herein, that the King of England shall be bond for him, and that he will counter-secure the King of England with Amsterdam ; and, it seems, hath assured our King, that if he will make a league with him, he will make a peace exclusive to the Hollander. These things are almost romantique, but yet true, as Sir H. Cholmly tells me the King himself did relate it all yesterday ; and it seems as if the king of France did think other princes fit for nothing but to make sport for him : but simple princes they are, that are forced to suffer this from him.

11th. The proclamation is this day come out against the Duke of Buckingham, commanding him to come in to one of the Secretaries, or to the Lieutenant of the Tower. A silly, vain man to bring himself to this : and there be many hard circumstances in the proclamation of the causes of this proceeding of the King's, which speak great displeasure of the King's, and crimes of his.

12th. Up, and to the office, where all the morning. At noon home, and there find Mr. Goodgroome, whose teaching of my wife only by singing over and over again to her, and letting her sing with him, not by herself, to correct her faults, I do not like at all, but was angry at it ; but have this content, that I do think she will come to sing pretty well, and to trill in time, which pleases me well. This day a poor seaman, al-

most starved for want of food, lay in our yard a-dying. I sent him half-a-crown, and we ordered his ticket to be paid.

13th. Having done our usual business with the Duke of York, I away ; and meeting Mr. D. Gauden in the presence-chamber, he and I to talk ; and among other things he tells me, and I do find every where else, also, that our masters do begin not to like of their councils in fitting out no fleete, but only squadrons, and are finding out excuses for it ; and, among others, he tells me a Privy-Councillor did tell him that it was said in Council that a fleete could not be sent out this year, for want of victuals, which gives him and me great alarme, but me especially : for had it been so, I ought to have represented it ; and therefore it put me in policy presently to prepare myself to answer this objection, if ever it should come about, by drawing up a state of the Victualler's stores, which I will presently do. So to Sir G. Carteret's, where I dined with the ladies, and very well used I am among them, so that I am heartily ashamed that my wife has not been there to see them ; but she shall very shortly. Late at my office preparing a speech against to-morrow morning, before the King, at my Lord Treasurer's. The Duke of Buckingham is concluded gone over sea, and, it is thought, to France.

14th. To my Lord Treasurer's. Here we fell into discourse with Sir Stephen Fox, and, among other things, of the Spanish manner of walking, when three together, and showed me how, which was pretty, to

prevent differences. By and by comes the King and Duke of York, and presently the officers of the Ordnance were called ; my Lord Berkeley, Sir John Duncomb, and Mr. Chichly ; then we, my Lord Brouncker, W. Batten, W. Pen, and myself ; where we find only the King and Duke of York, and my Lord Treasurer, and Sir G. Carteret ; when I only did speak, laying down the state of our wants, which the King and Duke of York seemed very well pleased with, and we did get what we asked, 500,000*l.*, assigned upon the eleven months' tax : but that is not so much ready money, or what will raise 40,000*l.* per week, which we desired, and the business will want. Yet are we fain to come away answered, when, God knows, it will undo the King's business to have matters of this moment put off in this manner. The King did prevent my offering any thing by and by as Treasurer for Tangier, telling me that he had ordered us 30,000*l.* on the same tax ; but that is not what we would have to bring our payments to come within a year. So we gone out, in went others ; viz., one after another, Sir Stephen Fox for the army, Captain Cocke for sick and wounded, Mr. Ashburnham¹ for the household. Thence Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and I, back again ; I mightily pleased with what I had said and done, and the success thereof. But, it being a fine clear day, I did, *en gayeté de cœur*, propose going to Bow for ayre sake, and dine there, which they embraced, and so Sir W.

¹ Wm. Ashburnham, the Cofferer.

Batten and I straight to Bow, to the Queen's Head, and there bespoke our dinner, carrying meat with us from London ; and anon comes Sir W. Pen with my wife and Lady Batten, and then Mr. Lowther with his mother and wife. While Sir W. Batten and I were alone, we had much friendly discourse, though I will never trust him far ; but we do propose getting "The Flying Greyhound" our privateer, to us and Sir W. Pen at the end of the year when we call her home, by begging her of the King, and I do not think we shall be denied her. They being come, we to oysters and so to talk, very pleasant I was all day, and anon to dinner, and I made very good company. Here till the evening, so as it was dark almost before we got home. Troubled a little at my fear that my Lord Brouncker should tell Sir W. Coventry of our neglecting the office this afternoon to look after our pleasures, but nothing will fall upon me alone about this.

15th. Letters this day come to Court do tell us that we are not likely to agree, the Dutch demanding high terms, and the King of France the like, in a most braving manner. The merchants do give themselves for lost, no man knowing what to do, whether to sell or buy, not knowing whether peace or war to expect, and I am told that could that be now known a man might get 20,000*l.* in a week's time by buying up of goods in case there should be war. So away and met Dr. Fuller, Bishop of Limericke, and walked an hour with him in the Court talking of newes only, and he do think that matters will be bad with us.

This morning I was called up by Sir John Winter, poor man ! come in his sedan from the other end of the town, about helping the King in the business of bringing down his timber to the sea-side, in the Forest of Deane.

16th. The weather is now grown warm again, after much cold ; and it is observable that within these eight days I did see smoke remaining, coming out of some cellars, from the late great fire, now above six months since.

17th (Lord's day). To White Hall Chapel. There I put my wife in the pew below, but it was pretty to see, myself being but in a plain band, and every way else ordinary, how the verger took me for her man, and I was fain to tell him she was a kinswoman of my Lord Sandwich's, he saying that none under knights-baronets' ladies are to go into that pew. I to the Duke of York's lodging, where in his dressing-chamber he talking of his journey to-morrow or next day to Harwich, to prepare some fortifications there ; so that we are wholly upon the defensive part this year. I to walk in the Parke, where to the Queen's Chapel, and there heard a fryer preach with his cord about his middle, in Portuguese, something I could understand, showing that God did respect the meek and humble, as well as the high and the rich. He was full of action, but very decent and good, I thought, and his manner of delivery very good. Then I went back to White Hall, and there up to the closet, and spoke with several people till sermon was ended, which was

preached by the Bishop of Hereford,¹ an old good man, that they say made an excellent sermon. He was by birth a Catholique, and a great gallant, having 1500*l.* per annum, patrimony, and is a Knight Baronet ; was turned from his persuasion by the late Archbishop Laud. He and the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Ward, are the two Bishops that the King do say he cannot have bad sermons from. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me, that undoubtedly my Lord Bellassis do go no more to Tangier, and that he do believe he do stand in a likely way to go Governor ; though he says, and showed me, a young silly Lord, one Lord Allington,² who hath offered a great sum of money to go, and will put hard for it, he having a fine lady,³ and a great man would be glad to have him out of the way. After Chapel with my wife to Sir G. Carterets, where we dined and mightily made of and most extraordinary

¹ Bishop Herbert Croft, who was previously Dean of Hereford (1644), was not a Romanist by birth, but entangled by the Jesuits while on his travels, and converted to Popery. It would appear, from Godwin (*De Præsulibus*), that his return to the Protestant faith is not attributable to Laud, but to the efforts of another prelate. "In patriam vero redux et in Thomæ Mortoni Episcopi Dunelmensis familiaritatem adductus melioribus consiliis adhibitis ad se quoque rediit et Ecclesiam Anglicanam." Croft, says Burnet, was a devout man, but of no discretion in his conduct. He was born 1603, and survived his elevation to the See of Hereford, in 1661, thirty years. The Bishop's father, Sir Herbert, was a knight, and his son, of the same name, a baronet. See Sir Walter Scott's preface to "The Naked Truth," in Somers's "Tracts," vol. vii. p. 268.

² William Alington, second Baron Alington, of Killard, Ireland, created an English Baron, 1682, by the title of Baron Alington, of Wymondley, Hertfordshire, which title became extinct in 1692.

³ His second wife, Juliana, daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden. She died the September following.

people they are to continue friendship with for goodness, virtue and nobleness and interest. After dinner he and I alone awhile and did joy ourselves in my Lord Sandwich's being out of the way all this time. He concurs that we are in a way of ruin by thus being forced to keep only small squadrons out, but do tell me that it was not choice, but only force that we could not keep out the whole fleete. He tells me that the King is very kind to my Lord Sandwich, and did himself observe to him (Sir G. Carteret), how those very people, meaning the Prince and Duke of Albemarle, are punished in the same kind as they did seek to abuse my Lord Sandwich. Took coach and home where I found Mercer, who I was glad to see, but durst not show so, my wife being displeased with her, and indeed I fear she is grown a very gossip.

18th. Comes my old good friend, Mr. Richard Cumberland,¹ to see me, being newly come to town, whom I have not seen almost, if not quite, these seven years. In his plain country-parson's dress. I could not spend much time with him, but prayed him to come with his brother, who was with him, to dine with me to-day; which he did do: and I had a great deal of his good company; and a most excellent person he is as any I know, and one that I am sorry should be lost and buried in a little country town, and would be glad to remove him thence; and the truth is, if he would accept of my sister's fortune, I should give

¹ Richard Cumberland, educated at St. Paul's School, and Magdalene College, Cambridge; made Bishop of Peterborough, 1691. Ob. 1718, aged 86.

100*l.* more with him than to a man able to settle her four times as much as, I fear, he is able to do ; and I will think of it, and a way how to move it, he having in discourse said he was not against marrying, nor yet engaged. Comes Captain Jenifer to me, a great servant of my Lord Sandwich's, who tells me that he do hear for certain, though I do not yet believe it, that Sir W. Coventry is to be Secretary of State, and my Lord Arlington Lord Treasurer. I only wish that the latter were as fit for the latter office as the former is for the former, and more fit than my Lord Arlington. Anon Sir W. Pen came and talked with me in the garden, and tells me that for certain the Duke of Richmond is to marry Mrs. Stewart, he having this day brought in an account of his estate and debts to the King on that account. My father's letter this day do tell me of his own continued illness, and that my mother grows so much worse, that he fears she cannot long continue, which troubles me very much. This day, Mr. Cæsar told me a pretty experiment of his, of angling with a minnikin, a gut-string varnished over, which keeps it from swelling, and is beyond any hair for strength and smallness. The secret I like mightily.

19th. It comes in my mind this night to set down how a house was the other day in Bishopsgate Street blowed up with powder ; a house that was untenanted ; but, thanks be to God, it did no more hurt ; and all do conclude it a plot. This afternoon I am told again that the town do talk of my Lord Arlington's being to be Lord Treasurer, and Sir W. Coventry to be Secre-

tary of State ; and that for certain the match is concluded between the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart, which I am well enough pleased with ; and it is pretty to consider how his quality will allay people's talk ; whereas, had a meaner person married her, he would for certain have been reckoned a cuckold at first dash.

20th. To our church to the vestry, to be assessed by the late Poll Bill, where I am rated as an Esquire,¹ and for my office, all will come to about 50*l*. But not more than I expected, nor so much by a great deal as I ought to be, for all my offices. So shall be glad to escape so. Thence by water again to White Hall and there do hear that newes is come now that the enemy do incline again to a peace, but could hear no particulars, so do not believe it. I had a great mind to have spoke with the King about a business proper enough for me, about the French prize man-of-war, how he would have her altered, only out of a desire to show myself mindful of business, but my linen was so dirty and my clothes mean, that I neither thought it fit to do that, nor go to other persons at the Court, with whom I had business, which did vex me, and I must remedy it. Here I hear that the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart were betrothed last night. So to Sir W. Batten's to dinner, and had a good dinner of ling and herring pie, very good meat, best of the kind that ever I had. To the Temple, and there did

¹ See March 25, 1660.

buy a little book or two, and it is strange how "Rycaut's ' Discourse of Turkey," which before the fire I was asked but 8s. for, there being all but twenty-two or thereabouts burned, I did now offer 20s., and he demands 50s., and I think I shall give it him, though it be only as a monument of the fire. So to the New Exchange, and took up my wife, and to Polichinello's at Charing Crosse, which is prettier and prettier, and so full of variety that it is extraordinary good entertainment. So home to the office a little, where I met with a sad letter from my brother, who tells me my mother is declared by the doctors to be past recovery, and that my father is also very ill: so that I fear we shall see a sudden change there. God fit them and us for it! So to Sir W. Pen's, where my wife was, and supped with a little, but yet little mirth, and a bad, nasty supper, which makes me not love the family, they do all things so meanly, to make a little bad show upon their backs.

21st. At noon home to dinner, and had some melancholy discourse with my wife about my mother's being so ill and my father, and after dinner to cheer myself I alone out and to the Duke of York's play-house, where unexpectedly I came to see only the young men and women of the house act; they having liberty to act for their own profit on Wednesdays and Fridays this Lent: and the play they did yesterday, being Wednesday, was so well-taken, that they thought

fit to venture it publickly to-day ; a play of my Lord Falkland's¹ called "The Wedding Night," a kind of a tragedy, and some things very good in it, but the whole together, I thought, not so. I confess I was well enough pleased with my seeing it : and the people did do better, without the great actors, than I did expect, but yet far short of what they do when they are there. Thence to rights home, and there to the office to my business hard, being sorry to have made this scape without my wife, but I have a good salve to my oath in doing it. Our trial for a good prize came on to-day, "The Phoenix,² worth two or 3,000*l.*," when by and by Sir W. Batten told me we had got the day, which was mighty welcome news to me and us all. But it is pretty to see what money will do. Yesterday, Walker³ was mighty cold on our behalf, till Sir W. Batten promised him, if we sped in this business of the goods, a coach ; and if at the next trial we sped for the ship, we would give him a pair of horses. And he hath strove for us to-day like a prince, though the Swedes' Agent was there with all the vehemence he could to save the goods, but yet we carried it against him.

22nd. My wife having dressed herself in a silly dress of a blue petticoat uppermost, and a white satin

¹ Henry Carey, third Viscount Falkland, M. P. for Arundel, 1661. Ob. 1664.

² In 1689 the House of Commons appointed a Committee to investigate the conduct of Pepys and Sir Josiah Child in the business of the Phoenix. The proceedings are to be found in Rawlinson, A 170.

³ Sir W. Walker.

waistcoat and white hood, though I think she did it because her gown is gone to the tailor's, did, together with my being hungry, which always makes me peevish, make me angry, but after dinner friends again, and then by water down to Greenwich and thence walked to Woolwich, all the way reading Playford's "Introduction to Musique," wherein are some things very pretty. At Woolwich I did much business, taking account of the ships there, thence to Blackwall and then to Deptford and did the like and so home. I met on Tower Hill with Captain Cocke and spent half an hour walking with him, talking of the sorrowful condition we are in, that we must be ruined if the Parliament do not come and chastize us, that we are resolved to make a peace whatever it cost, that the King is disobliging the Parliament in this interval all that may be, yet his money is gone and he must have more, and they likely not to give it, without a great deal of do. God knows what the issue of it will be. But the considering that the Duke of York, instead of being at sea as Admirall, is now going from port to port, as he is this day at Harwich, and was the other day with the King at Sheernesse, and hath ordered at Portsmouth how fortifications shall be made to oppose the enemy, in case of invasion, is to us a sad consideration, and shameful to the nation, especially for so many proud vaunts as we have made against the Dutch, and all from the folly of the Duke of Albemarle, who made nothing of beating them, and Sir John Lawson he always declared that we never did fail to beat them

with lesser numbers than theirs, which did so prevail with the King as to throw us into this war.

23rd. At the office, where Sir W. Pen came, being returned from Chatham, from considering the means of fortifying the river Medway, by a chain at the stakes, and ships laid there with guns to keep the enemy from coming up to burn our ships; all our care now being to fortify ourselves against their invading us. Vexed with our mayde Luce, our cook-mayde, who is a good drudging servant in everything else, and pleases us, but that she will be drunk, and hath been so last night and all this day, that she could not make clean the house. My fear is only fire.

24th (Lord's day). With Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes: and they did talk of my Lord Brouncker,¹ whose father, it seems, did give Mr. Ashburnham and

¹ Sir William Brouncker had been Commissary-General of the Musters in the Scotch expedition in 1639, Vice-Chamberlain to Prince Charles, and one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber to Charles I. He was the son of Sir Henry Brouncker, President of Munster, by Anne, sister to Henry Lord Morley, and was created Viscount Brouncker, of Castle Lyons, in Ireland, and Baron Brouncker, of Newcastle, co. Dublin, 12th Sept. 1645. He died in November following, and was buried in the Cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, leaving issue by his wife Winifred, daughter of Sir William Leigh, of Newenham, Warwickshire, two sons, William, before-mentioned, and Henry, third and last Viscount Brouncker, who died in 1688, and was buried in Richmond Church, leaving no issue by his wife Rebecca, widow of the Hon. Thomas Jermyn, mother, by her first husband, of the Lords Jermyn and Dover. Henry Brouncker, who had been Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Duke of York, had succeeded to the office of Cofferer on the death of William Ashburnham, in 1671. The Lords Brouncker were descended from Henry Brouncker, who, in 1544, bought lands at Melksham and Erlestoke, in Wilts; and his arms, and those of his two wives, are described by Aubrey as being on the window of a house at Erlestoke. *Ex. Inform. Miss Henrietta Brouncker*, whose eldest brother, Richard Brouncker, considers himself as

the present Lord Bristoll 1,200*l.* to be made an Irish lord, and swore the same day that he had not 12*d.* left to pay for his dinner: they made great mirth at this, my Lord Brouncker having lately given great matter of offence both to them and us all, that we are at present mightily displeased with him. By and by to the Duke of York, where we all met, and there was the King also; and all our discourse was about fortifying of the Medway and Harwich, which is to be entrenched quite round, and Portsmouth: and here they advised with Sir Godfry Lloyd¹ and Sir Bernard de Gum,² the two great engineers, and had the plates drawn before them; and indeed all their care they now take is to fortify themselves, and are not ashamed of it; for when by and by my Lord Arlington came in with letters, and seeing the King and Duke of York give us and the officers of the Ordnance directions in this matter, he did move that we might do it as privately as we could, that it might not come into the Dutch Gazette presently, as the King's and Duke of

the representative of the family. He has two young sons; and his estate is at Boveridge, Dorset, on the borders of Wilts. See 13th Aug. 1662.

¹ Sir Godfrey Lloyd had been a Captain in Holland, and was knighted by Charles at Brussels, in 1657.

² Sir Bernard de Gomme was born at Lille, in 1620. When young, he served in the campaigns of Henry Frederic, Prince of Orange, and afterwards entered the service of Charles I., by whom he was knighted. Under Charles II. and James II., he filled the offices of Chief Engineer, Quarter-Master-General, and Surveyor of the Ordnance. He died November 23, 1685, and is buried in the Tower of London. He first fortified Sheerness, Liverpool, &c., and he strengthened Portsmouth. His plans of these places and others, and of some of Charles I.'s battles, are in the British Museum, where also is preserved a miniature portrait of him in oil.

York's going down the other day to Sheerensse was, the week after, in the Harlem Gazette. The King and Duke of York both laughed at it, and made no matter, but said, "Let us be safe, and let them talk, for there is nothing will trouble them more, nor will prevent their coming more, than to hear that we are fortifying ourselves." And the Duke of York said further, "What said Marshal Turenne, when some in vanity said that the enemies were afraid, for they entrenched themselves? 'Well,' says he, 'I would they were not afraid, for then they would not entrench themselves, and so we could deal with them the better.' " Away thence, and met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that he do believe the government of Tangier is bought by my Lord Allington for a sum of money to my Lord Arlington, and something to Lord Bellassis. Mightily troubled the most of the night with fears of fire, which I cannot get out of my head to this day since the last great fire. I did this night give the waterman who uses to carry me 10s. at his request, for the painting of his new boat, on which shall be my arms.

25th. Went over Mr. Povy's house, which lies in the same good condition as ever, which is most extraordinary fine, and he was now at work with a cabinet-maker, making of a new inlaid table. Called at Mr. Lilly's, who was working; and indeed his pictures are without doubt much beyond Mr. Hales's, I think I may say I am convinced: but a mighty proud man he is, and full of state. To the King's playhouse; and

by and by comes Mr. Lowther and his wife and mine, and into a box, forsooth, neither of them being dressed, which I was almost ashamed of. Sir W. Pen and I in the pit, and here saw "The Mayden Queene" again; which indeed the more I see the more I like, and is an excellent play, and so done by Nell, her merry part, as cannot be better done in nature.

26th. I have cause to be joyful this day, for my being cut of the stone this day nine years, and through God's blessing am at this day and have been in as good condition of health as ever I was in my life or any man in England is. God make me thankful for it! But the condition I am in, in reference to my mother, makes it unfit for me to keep my usual feast. To Exeter House, where the Judge was sitting, and there heard our cause pleaded; Sir ——— Turner,¹ Sir W. Walker, and Sir Ellis Layton being our counsel against only Sir Robert Wiseman² on the other. The second of our three counsel was the best, and indeed did speak admirably, and is a very shrewd man. Nevertheless, as good as he did make our case, and the rest, yet when Wiseman came to argue, nay, and though he did begin so sillily that we laughed in scorn in our sleeves at him, he did so state the case, that the Judge³ did not think fit to decide the cause to-

¹ Sir Edward Turner, Solicitor-General.

² D.C.L., King's Advocate, 1669.

³ Sir Leoline Jenkins, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and afterwards made Judge of the Admiralty and the Prerogative Court. He was subsequently employed on several embassies, and succeeded Henry Coventry as

night, but took to to-morrow, and did stagger us in our hopes, so as to make us despair of the success. I am mightily pleased with the Judge, who seems a very rational, learned, and uncorrupt man, though our success doth shake me.

27th. Sir W. Pen and I towards the Exchequer and in our way met Sir G. Downing, and he would go with us back to the Exchequer and showed us in his office his chests full and ground and shelves full of money, and says that there is 50,000*l.* at this day in his office of people's money, who may demand it this day and might have had it away several weeks ago upon the late Act, but do rather choose to have it continue there than to put it into the Banker's hands, and I must confess it is more than I should have believed had I not seen it, and more than I could have expected would have arisen for this new Act in so short a time. But it comes into my head here to observe what I have heard from Sir John Bankes, though I cannot fully conceive the reason of it, that it will be impossible to make the Exchequer ever a true bank to all intents, unless the Exchequer stood nearer the Exchange, where merchants might with ease, while they are going about their business, at all hours, and without trouble or loss of time, have their satisfaction, which they cannot have now without much trouble, and loss of half a day, and no certainty of having the offices open. To Westminster Hall and there met

Balty, and did break the business of my getting him the place of going again as Muster-Master under Harman to the West Indys, which indeed I do owe to Sir W. Pen. He is mighty glad of it, but I do find, poor man, that he is troubled how to dispose of his wife, and apparently it is out of fear of her and his honour, and I believe he has received some cause of this his jealousy and care, and I do pity him in it, and will endeavour to find out some way to do it for him. To the Castle Taverne, by Exeter House; and there Sir Ellis Layton, whom I find a wonderful witty, ready man for sudden answers and little tales, and sayings very extraordinary witty. He did give me a full account, upon my demand, of this Judge of the Admiralty, Judge Jenkins; who, he says, is a man never practised in this Court, but taken merely for his merit and ability's sake from Trinity Hall, where he had always lived; only by accident the business of the want of a Judge being proposed to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, he did think of this man and sent for him up: and here he is, against the *gré* and content of the old Doctors, made Judge, but is a very excellent man both for judgment and temper, yet majesty enough, and by all men's report, not to be corrupted. After dinner to the Court, where Sir Ellis Layton did make a very silly motion in our behalf, but did neither hurt nor good. After him Walker and Wiseman; and then the Judge did pronounce his sentence; for some — a part of the goods and ship, and the freight of the whole, to be free, and returned

and paid by us; and the remaining, which was the greater part, to be ours. The loss of so much troubles us, but we have got a pretty good part, thanks be to God! Received from my brother the newes of my mother's dying on Monday, about five or six o'clock in the afternoon, and that the last time she spoke of her children was on Friday last, and her last words were, "God bless my poor Sam!" The reading hereof did set me a-weeping heartily, and so weeping to myself awhile, and my wife also to herself, I then spoke to my wife respecting myself, and indeed, having some thoughts how much better both for her and us it is than it might have been had she outlived my father and me or my happy present condition in the world, she being helpless, I was the sooner at ease in my mind, and then found it necessary to go abroad with my wife to look after the providing mourning to send into the country, — some to-morrow, and more against Sunday, for my family, being resolved to put myself and wife, and Barker and Jane, W. Hewer and Tom, in mourning, and my two under-mayds, to give them hoods and scarfs and gloves. So to my tailor's, and up and down, and then home, and to bed, my heart sad, though my judgment at ease.

28th. I down by water to our prize, part of whose goods were condemned yesterday — "The Linde-boome" — and there we did drink some of her wine, very good. But it did grate my heart to see the poor master come on board, and look about into every corner, and find fault that she was not so clean as she

used to be, though methought she was very clean ; and to see his new masters come in, that had nothing to do with her, did trouble me to see him. Thence to Blackwall and there to Mr. Johnson's, to see how some works upon some of our repaired ships go on, and at his house eat and drank and mighty extraordinary merry, too merry for me whose mother died so lately, but they know it not, so cannot reproach me therein, though I reproach myself.

29th. To the office till noon ; home and there find Balty and his wife got thither both by my wife for me to give them good advice, for her to be with his father and mother all this time of absence, for saving of money, and did plainly and like a friend tell them my mind of the necessity of saving money, and that if I did not find they did endeavour it, I should not think fit to trouble myself for them, but I see she is utterly against being with his father and mother, and so he do propose that it will be cheaper for him to put her to board at a place he is offered at Lee, and I having given him so much good advice do leave them to stand and fall as they please, having discharged myself as a friend. I do observe the great streets in the city are marked out with piles drove into the ground ; and if ever it be built in that form with so fair streets, it will be a noble sight. To a periwig-maker's, and there bought two periwigs, mighty fine ; indeed, too fine, I thought, for me ; but he persuaded me, and I did buy them for 4*l.* 10*s.* the two. To the Bull-Head Taverne, whither was brought my French gun ; and

one Truelocke, the famous gunsmith, that is a mighty ingenious man, did take my gun in pieces, and made me understand the secrets thereof: and upon the whole I do find it a very good piece of work, and truly wrought; but for certain not a thing to be used much with safety: and he do find that this very gun was never yet shot off. Balty tells me strange stories of his mother. Among others, how she, in his absence in Holland, did pawne all the things that he had got in his service under Oliver, and run of her own accord, without her husband's leave, into Flanders, and that his purse, and 4*s.* a week which his father receives of the French church, is all the subsistence his father and mother have, and that about 20*l.* a year maintains them; ¹ which, if it please God, I will find one way or other to provide for them, to remove that scandal away.

30th. At noon home to dinner, thence with my wife's knowledge and leave to see the silly play of my Lady Newcastle's, ² called "The Humourous Lovers;" the most silly thing that ever came upon a stage. I was sick to see it, but yet would not but have seen it, that I might the better understand her. Here I spied Knipp and Betty, ³ of the King's house, and sent Knipp oranges, but, having little money about me, did not

¹ This seems to prove that Mrs. Pepys's mother had married again.

² Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lucas, of Colchester, and sister to John Lord Lucas, married William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, created a Duke, 1664.

³ Betty Hall. See 23rd January, 1666-7.

offer to carry them abroad, which otherwise I had, I fear, been tempted to. So to my office, where, among other things, a most extraordinary letter to the Duke of York touching the want of money and the sad state of the King's service thereby.

31st (Lord's day). To church ; and with my mourning, very handsome, and new periwig, make a great show. Walked to my Lord Treasurer's, where the King, Duke of York, and the Caball, and much company without ; and a fine day. Anon come out from the Caball my Lord Hollis and Mr. H. Coventry,¹ who, it is conceived, have received their instructions from the King this day ; they being to begin their journey towards their treaty at Bredah speedily, their passes being come. Here I saw the Lady Northumberland² and her daughter-in-law, my Lord Treasurer's daughter, my Lady Piercy,³ a beautiful lady indeed. The month shuts up only with great desires of peace in all of us, and a belief that we shall have a peace, in most people, if it can be had on any terms, for there is a necessity of it ; for we cannot go on with the war, and our masters are afraid to come to depend upon the good will of the Parliament any more, as I do hear.

April 1st. To White Hall, and there had the good

¹ See 14th February, 1666-7, *ante*.

² Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Theophilus Howard, second Earl of Suffolk, wife of Algernon, tenth Earl of Northumberland.

³ Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, daughter and co-heir to the last Earl of Southampton, married to Joscelyn Lord Percy.

fortune to walk with Sir W. Coventry into the garden, and there read our melancholy letter to the Duke of York, which he likes. And so to talk : and he flatly owns that we must have a peace, for we cannot set out a fleete ;¹ and, to use his own words, he fears that we shall soon have enough of fighting in this new way, which we have thought on for this year. He bemoans the want of money, and discovers himself jealous that Sir G. Carteret do not look after, or concern himself for getting, money ; and did further say, that he [Carteret] and my Lord Chancellor do at this very day labour all they can to villify this new way of raising money, and making it payable, as it now is, into the Exchequer ; and that in pursuance hereof, my Lord Chancellor hath prevailed with the King, in the close of his speech to the House, to say, that he did hope to see them come to give money as it used to be given, without so many provisos, meaning this new method of the Act. While we were talking, there came Sir Thomas Allen² with two ladies, one of which was Mrs. Rebecca Allen, that I knew heretofore, the clerk of the rope-yard's daughter at Chatham, poor heart ! come to desire favour for her husband, who is clapt up, being a Lieutenant [Jewkes] for sending a challenge to his Captain, in the most saucy, base

¹ Evelyn ("Diary," July 29, 1667) says that it was owing to Sir William Coventry that no fleet was fitted out in 1667. His unpopularity after the burning of the fleet at Chatham by the Dutch was great. "Those who advised His Majesty to prepare no fleet this spring, deserved — I know what — but!" — EVELYN'S *Diary*, 28th June, 1667.

² Elsewhere called Captain Allen.

language that could be writ. I perceive Sir W. Coventry is wholly resolved to bring him to punishment ; for, “bear with this,” says he, “and no discipline shall ever be expected.” She in this sad condition took no notice of me, nor I of her. So away we to the Duke of York, and there in his closett Sir W. Coventry and I delivered the letter, which the Duke of York made not much of, I thought, as to laying it to heart, as the matter deserved, but did promise to look after the getting of money for us. To Sir George Carteret’s and dined there, and many good stories at dinner, among others about discoveries of murder, and Sir J. Minnes did tell of the discovery of his own great-grandfather’s murder, fifteen years after he was murdered. Mrs. Turner came to my office, and did walk an hour with me in the garden, telling me stories how Sir Edward Spragge hath lately made love to our neighbour, a widow, Mrs. Hollworthy, who is a woman of estate, and wit and spirit, and do contemn him the most, and sent him away with the greatest scorn in the world ; also odd stories how the parish talks of Sir W. Pen’s family, how poorly they clothe their daughter so soon after marriage, and do say that Mr. Lowther was married once before, and some such thing there hath been, whatever the bottom of it is. But to think of the clatter they make with his coach, and his owne fine cloathes, and yet how meanly they live within doors, and nastily, and borrowing everything of neighbours.

2nd. Mr. Deane hath promised me a very fine draught of the Rupert, which I will make one of the

beautifullest things that ever was seen of the kind, she being a ship that will deserve it. Then to the office and in the evening weary home and there to sing, but vexed with the unreadiness of the girle's voice to learn the latter part of my song, though I confess it is very hard, half notes.

3rd. To the Duke of York, where I read two most dismal letters of the straits we are in (from Collonell Middleton and Commissioner Taylor) that ever were wrote in the world, so as the Duke of York would have them to show the King, and to every demand of money, whereof we proposed many and very pressing ones, Sir G. Carteret did say that he had no funds to raise money on ; and being asked by Sir W. Coventry whether the eleven months' tax was not a fund, he answered, "No, that the bankers would not lend money upon it." Then Sir W. Coventry burst out and said he did supplicate his Royal Highness, and would do the same to the King, that he would remember who they were that did persuade the King from parting with the Chimney-money to the Parliament, and taking that in lieu which they would certainly have given, and which would have raised infallibly ready money ; meaning the bankers and the farmers of the Chimney-money, whereof Sir G. Carteret, I think, is one ; saying plainly, that whoever did advise the King to that, did, as much as in them lay, cut the King's throat, and did wholly betray him ; to which the Duke of York did assent ; and remembered that the King did say again and again at the time, that he

was assured, and did fully believe, the money would be raised presently upon a land-tax. This put us all into a stound; and Sir W. Coventry went on to declare, that he was glad he was come to have so lately¹ concern in the Navy as he hath, for he cannot now give any good account of the Navy business; and that all his work now was to be able to provide such orders as would justify his Royal Highness in the business, when it shall be called to account; and that he do do, not concerning himself whether they are or can be performed, or no; and that when it comes to be examined, and falls on my Lord Treasurer, he cannot help it, whatever the issue of it shall be. Hereupon Sir W. Batten did pray him to keep also by him all our letters that come from the office that may justify us, which he says he do do, and, God knows, it is an ill sign when we are once to come to study how to excuse ourselves. It is a sad consideration, and therewith we broke up, all in a sad posture, the most that ever I saw in my life. One thing more Sir W. Coventry did say to the Duke of York, when I moved again, that of about 9,000*l.* debt to Lanyon,² at Plymouth, he might pay 3,700*l.* worth of prize-goods, that he bought lately at the candle, out of this debt due to him from the King; and the Duke of York, and Sir G. Carteret, and Lord Barkeley, saying, all of them, that my Lord Ashly would not be got to yield to it, who is Treasurer of the Prizes, Sir W. Coventry

¹ Little?

² One of the contractors for victualling Tangier.

did plainly desire that it might be declared whether the proceeds of the prizes were to go to the helping on of the war, or no ; and, if it were, how then could this be denied? which put them all into another stound ; and it is true, God forgive us ! Thence to the chappell, and there, by chance, hear that Dr. Crew¹ is to preach ; and so into the organ-loft, where I met Mr. Carteret, and my Lady Jemimah, and Sir Thomas Crew's two daughters, and Dr. Childe playing ; and Dr. Crew did make a very pretty, neat, sober, honest sermon ; and delivered it very readily, decently, and gravely, beyond his years : so as I was exceedingly taken with it, and I believe the whole chappell, he being but young ; but his manner of his delivery I do like exceedingly. His text was, " But seeke ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." The Dutch letters are come, and say that the Dutch have ordered a passe to be sent for our Commissioners, and that it is now upon the way, coming with a trumpeter blinded, as is usual. But I perceive every body begins to doubt the success of the treaty, all their hopes being only that if it can be had on any terms, the Chancellor will have it ; for he dare not come before a Parliament, nor a great many more of the courtiers, and the King himself do declare he do not desire it, nor intend it but on a strait ; which God defend him from ! Here I hear how the King is not

¹ Nathanael Crewe, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and last Lord Crewe. He was the founder of the noble Bamborough charities. Ob. 1721.

so well pleased of this marriage between the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart, as is talked ; and that he [the Duke] by a wile did fetch her to the Beare, at the Bridge-foot, where a coach was ready, and they are stole away into Kent,¹ without the King's leave ; and that the King hath said he will never see her more ; but people do think that it is only a trick. This day I saw Prince Rupert abroad in the Vane-room, pretty well as he used to be, and looks as well, only something appears to be under his periwigg on the crown of his head. So home vexed at two or three things, viz. : that my wife's watch proves so bad as it do, the ill state of the office and Kingdom's business, and at the charge which my mother's death for mourning will put me to.

4th. To the Duke of Albemarle to give him an account of the escaping of some soldiers for the manning of the few ships now ordering out with Harman to the West Indies, which is a sad consideration that at the very beginning of the year and few ships abroad we should be in such want of men that they do hide themselves, and swear they will not go to be killed and have no pay. I find the Duke of Albemarle at dinner with sorry company, some of his officers of the Army ; dirty dishes, and a nasty wife at table, and bad meat, of which I made but an ill dinner. Pretty to hear how she talked against Captain Du Tell,² the Frenchman, that the Prince and

¹ To Cobham Hall, near Gravesend, see 26th April, *post*.

² See note, July 27, 1666, *ante*.

her husband put out the last year ; and how, says she, the Duke of York hath made him, for his good services, his Cupbearer ; yet he fired more shot into the Prince's ship, and others of the King's ships, than of the enemy. And the Duke of Albemarle did confirm it, and that somebody in the fight did cry out that a little Dutchman, by his ship, did plague him more than any other ; upon which they were going to order him to be sunk, when they looked and found it was Du Tell, who, as the Duke of Albemarle says, had killed several men in several of our ships. He said, but for his interest, which he knew he had at Court, he had hanged him at the yard's-arm, without staying for a Court-martiall. One Colonel Howard,¹ at the table, magnified the Duke of Albemarle's fight in June last, as being a greater action than ever was done by Cæsar. The Duke of Albemarle did say it had been no great action, had all his number fought, as they should have done, to have beat the Dutch ; but of his 55 ships, not above 25 fought. He did give an account that it was a fight he was forced to : the Dutch being come in his way, and he being ordered to the buoy of the Nore, he could not pass by them without fighting, nor avoid them without great disadvantage and dishonour ; and this Sir G. Carteret, I afterwards giving him an account of what he said, says is true, that he was ordered up to the Nore. But I remember he said, had all his captains fought, he

¹ Son of the Earl of Berkshire.

would no more have doubted to have beat the Dutch, with all their number, than to eat the apple that lay on his trencher. My Lady Duchess, among other things, discoursed of the wisdom of dividing the fleete ;¹ which the General said nothing to, though he knows well that it came from themselves in the fleete, and was brought up hither by Sir Edward Spragge. Colonel Howard, asking how the Prince did, the Duke of Albemarle answering, "Pretty well ;" the other replied, "But not so well as to go to sea again." — "How !" says the Duchess, "what should he go for, if he were well, for there are no ships for him to command? And so you have brought your hogs to a fair market," said she. It was pretty to hear the Duke of Albemarle himself to wish that they would come on our ground, meaning the French, for that he would pay them, so as to make them glad to go back to France again ; which was like a general, but not like an admiral. One at the table told an odd passage in this late plague : that at Petersfield, I think, he said, one side of the street had every house almost infected through the town, and the other, not one shut up. I brought Balty to the Duke of Albemarle to kiss his hands and thank him for his kindness the last year to him, and then Balty and I to the Park, and, out of pity to his father, told him what I had in my thoughts to do for him about the money—that is, to make him Deputy Treasurer to the fleete, which I have done by

¹ See Nov. 1, 1667, *post*.

getting Sir G. Carteret's consent, and an order from the Duke of York for 1,500*l.* to be paid to him. He promises the whole profit to be paid to my wife, to be disposed of as she sees fit, for her father and mother's relief. So I back to Sir G. Carteret's and talked, and find that he do give every thing over for lost, and let Sir W. Coventry name the man that persuaded the King to take the Land Tax on promise of raising present money upon it. He will, he says, be able to clear himself enough of it. I made him merry, with telling him how many land-admirals we are to have this year: Allen at Plymouth, Holmes at Portsmouth, Spragge for Medway, Teddiman at Dover, Smith to the Northward, and Harman to the Southward. My Lady Carteret was on the bed to-day, having been let blood, and tells me of my Lady Jemimah's being big-bellied. With Sir Stephen Fox, talking of the sad condition of the King's purse, and affairs thereby; and how sad the King's life must be, to pass by his officers every hour, that are four years behindhand unpaid. My Lord Barkeley [of Stratton], I met with there, and fell into talk with him on the same thing, wishing to God that it might be remedied, to which he answered, with an oath, that it was as easy to remedy it as anything in the world; saying, that there is himself and three more would venture their carcasses upon it to pay all the King's debts in three years, had they the managing his revenue, and putting 300,000*l.* in his purse, as a stock. But, Lord! what a thing is this to me, that do know how likely a man my Lord

Barkeley of all the world is, to do such a thing as this. Sir W. Coventry tells me plainly, that to all future complaints of lack of money, he will answer but with the shrug of the shoulder ; which methought did come to my heart, to see him to begin to abandon the King's affairs, and let them sink or swim, so he do his owne part, which I confess I believe he do beyond any officer the King has, but unless he do endeavour to make others do theirs, nothing will be done. My wife had been to-day at White Hall to the Maundy,¹ it being Maundy Thursday ; but the King did not wash the poor people's feet himself, but the Bishop of London did it for him. To Hackney, where good neat's tongue, and things to eat and drink, and very merry, the weather being mighty pleasant ; and here I was told that at their church they have a fair pair of organs, which play while the people sing, which I am mighty glad of, wishing the like at our church at London, and would give 50*l.* towards it.

5th. In the street met with Mr. Sanchy, my old acquaintance at Cambridge, reckoned a great minis-

¹ Alms are still annually distributed to a certain number of poor persons in the royal chapel at Whitehall, in the name of the Sovereign, on Maundy Thursday, the day preceding Good Friday. The word is derived from the baskets, or *maunds*, in which the gift is contained. Formerly, the Kings and Queens of England, besides bestowing their maunds on as many poor men and women as they were years old, washed their feet. James II. was probably the last of our monarchs who performed this ceremony. Of the ceremonial of the Maundy as practised in George III.'s time, some engravings were published in 1773, after drawings by S. H. Grimm. It is the custom to give the royal alms in small silver coinage, struck especially for the occasion and called Maundy money.

ter here in the City, and by Sir Richard Ford particularly, which I wonder at ; for methinks, in his talk, he is but a mean man. To the Old Exchange, and there to Sir Robert Viner's, and made up my account there, to my great content ; but I find they do not keep them so regularly as to enable them to do it easily, and truly, and readily, nor would it have been easily stated by any body on my behalf but myself, several things being to be referred to memory, which nobody else could have done, and therefore it is fully necessary for me to even accounts with these people as often as I can. So to Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Young was talking about the building of the City again : and he told me that those few churches that are to be new built are plainly not chosen with regard to the convenience of the City ; they stand a great many in a cluster about Cornhill ; but that all of them are either in the gift of the Lord Archbishop, or Bishop of London, or Lord Chancellor, or gift of the City. Thus all things, even to the building of churches, are done in this world ! And then he says, which I wonder at, that he should not in all this time see, that Moorefields have houses two stories high in them, and paved streets, the City having let leases for seven years, which he do conclude will be very much to the hindering the building of the City ; but it was considered that the streets cannot be passable in London till the whole street be built ; and several that had got ground of the City for charity, to build sheds on, had got the trick presently to sell that for 60*l.*,

which did not cost them 20*l.* to put up; and so the City, being very poor in stock, thought it as good to do it themselves, and therefore let leases for seven years of the ground in Moorefields; and a good deal of this money, thus advanced, hath been employed for the enabling them to find some money for Commissioner Taylor, and Sir W. Batten, towards the charge of "The Loyall London,"¹ or else, it is feared, it had never been paid. This morning come to me the Collectors for my Poll-money; for which I paid for my title as Esquire and place of Clerk of Acts, and my head and wife's, and servants' and their wages, 40*l.* 17*s.*; and though this be a great deal, yet it is a shame I should pay no more: that is, that I should not be assessed for my pay, as in the victualling business and Tangier; and for my money, which, of my own accord, I had determined to charge myself with 1,000*l.* money, till coming to the Vestry, and seeing nobody of our ablest merchants, as Sir Andrew Rickard, to do it, I thought it not decent for me to do it, and would it be thought wisdom to do it unnecessarily, but vain glory.

6th. To the Tower wharfe, to attend the shipping of soldiers, to go down to man some ships going out, and pretty to see how merrily some, and most go, and how sad others — the leave they take of their friends, and the terms that some wives, and other wenches asked to part with them: a pretty mixture. Away to

¹ The ship given by the City to the King. See 10th June, 1666, *ante*.

the Exchange, and mercers and drapers, up and down, to pay all my scores occasioned by this mourning for my mother ; and emptied a 50*l.* bag, and it was a joy to me to see that I am able to part with such a sum, without much inconvenience : at least, without any trouble of mind.

7th (Easter day). With my wife to church, where Mr. Mills, a lazy sermon. After dinner to walk in the Parke, and heard the Italian musique at the Queen's chapel, whose composition is fine, but yet the voices of eunuchs I do not like as our women, nor am more pleased with it at all than with English voices, but that they do jump most excellently with themselves and their instrument, which is wonderful pleasant ; but I am convinced more and more, that, as every nation has a particular accent and tone in discourse, so as the tone of one not to agree with or please the other, no more can the fashion of singing to words, for that the better the words are set, the more they take in of the ordinary tone of the country whose language the song speaks, so that a song well composed by an Englishman must be better to an Englishman than it can be to a stranger, or than if set by a stranger in foreign words. Thence to White Hall, and there saw the King come out of chapel after prayers in the afternoon, which he is never at but after having received the Sacrament : and the Court, I perceive, is quite out of mourning ; and some very fine ; among others, my Lord Gerard, in a very rich vest and coat. Here I met with my Lord Bellasis : and it is pretty to see

what a formal story he tells me of his leaving his place upon the death of my Lord Cleveland,¹ by which he is become Captain of the Pensioners; and that the King did leave it to him to keep the other or take this; whereas, I know the contrary, that they had a mind to have him away from Tangier. He tells me he is commanded by the King to go down to the north to satisfy the Deputy Lieutenants of Yorkshire, who have desired to lay down their commissions upon pretence of having no profit by their places but charge, but indeed it is upon the Duke of Buckingham being under a cloud, of whom there is yet nothing heard, so that the King is apprehensive of their discontent, and sends him to pacify them, and I think he is as good a dissembler as any man else, and a fine person he is, and proper to lead the Pensioners, but a man of no honour nor faith I doubt. Into Moor Fields, and did find houses built two stories high, and like to stand; and it must become a place of great trade, till the City be built; and the street is already paved as London streets used to be.

8th. Away to the Temple, to my new bookseller's: and there I did agree for Rycaut's late History of the Turkish Policy,² which cost me 55s.; whereas it was sold plain before the late fire for 8s., and bound

¹ Thomas Wentworth, fourth Lord Wentworth of Nettlested, advanced, in 1625-6, to the Earldom of Cleveland, and in 1662 made Captain of the band of Pensioners. He died in 1667, s. p. m., when the Barony devolved upon his daughter, Henrietta, Baroness Wentworth, afterwards mistress of the Duke of Monmouth.

² This book is in the Pepysian Library. It was soon afterwards reprinted.

and coloured as this is for 20s.; for I have bought it finely bound and truly coloured, all the figures, of which there was but six books done so, whereof the King and Duke of York, and Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Arlington, had four. The fifth was sold, and I have bought the sixth. Home, and there find all things in readiness for a good dinner. By and by come my guests, Dr. Clerke and his wife, and Mrs. Worshipp,¹ and her daughter; and then Mr. Pierce and his wife, and boy, and Betty; and then I sent for Mercer; so that we had, with my wife and I, twelve at table, and very good and pleasant company, and a most neat and excellent, but dear dinner; but, Lord! to see with what envy they looked upon all my fine plate was pleasant; for I made the best show I could, to let them understand me and my condition, to take down the pride of Mrs. Clerke, who thinks herself very great. We sat long; and, after dinner, went out by coaches, thinking to have seen a play, but come too late to both houses, and then they had thoughts of going abroad somewhere; but I thought all the charge ought to be mine, and therefore endeavoured to part the company; and so ordered it to set them all down at Mrs. Pierce's; and there my wife and I and Mercer left them in good humour, and we three to the King's house, and saw the latter end of the "Surprisall,"² wherein was no great matter. Thence away to Polichinello,³ and there had three times more

¹ The sister of Mrs. Clerke.

² A comedy, by Sir Robert Howard.

³ In Moorfields: see 22nd Aug., 1666, *ante*.

sport than at the play, and so home, and to bed mightily pleased with this day's pleasure.

9th. Towards noon, I to the Exchange, and there do hear mighty cries for peace, and that otherwise we shall be undone; and yet I do suspect the badness of the peace we shall make. Several do complain of abundance of land flung up by tenants out of their hands for want of ability to pay their rents; and by name, that the Duke of Buckingham hath 6,000*l.* so flung up. And my father writes, that Jasper Trice,¹ upon this pretence of his tenants' dealing with him, is broke up housekeeping, and gone to board with his brother, Naylor, at Offord; which is very sad. To the King's house, and there saw "The Tameing of a Shrew," which hath some very good pieces in it, but generally is but a mean play; and the best part, "Sawny,"² done by Lacy; and hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me. Sir W. Batten tells me how he hath found his lady's jewels again, which have been so

¹ Jasper Trice, gent., died 27th October, 1675. — *Monumental Inscription in Brampton Church, Hunts.*

² In 1698 was printed a drama called "Sawney the Scot, or the Taming of a Shrew," which was a clumsy alteration of Shakespeare's play, the work of Lacy, for the purpose of affording him an opportunity of distinguishing himself as an actor. This is the piece which Pepys saw; as, in the old anonymous copy of "The Taming of a Shrew," which was the foundation of Shakespeare's drama, *Sawney* had been called *Sander*; and no doubt the notion of representing Grumio as a Scotchman arose out of the circumstance of his having been called *Sander* before Shakespeare availed himself of the story. The old "Taming of a Shrew" was reprinted in 1844, from the unique copy of 1594, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, for the Shakespeare Society, and edited by the late respected Thomas Amyot, Esq., F.A.S.

long lost, and a servant imprisoned and arraigned, and they were in her closet under a china cup ; but Mrs. Turner and I, and others, do believe that they were only disposed of by my Lady, in case she had died, to some friends of hers, and now laid there again.

10th. Up and to my office a little, and there, in the garden, find Sir W. Pen ; and he and I to Sir W. Batten, where he tells us of new disorders of Hogg and his men in taking of 30 tuns of wine out of a prize of ours, which makes us mad ; and that, added to the unwillingness of the men to go any longer abroad without money, do lead us to conclude not to keep her abroad any longer, of which I am glad. So away to White Hall to Sir W. Coventry's, with whom I staid a great while ; and he do declare himself troubled that he hath anything left him to do in the Navy, and would be glad to part with his whole profits and concernments in it, his pains and care being wholly ineffectual during this lack of money ; the expense growing infinite, the service not to be done, and discipline and order not to be kept, only from want of money. I begun to discourse with him the business of Tangier, which by the removal of my Lord Bellasis, is now to have a new Governor ; and did move him, that at this season all the business of reforming the garrison might be considered, while nobody was to be offended ; and I told him it is plain that we do overspend our revenue : that the place is of no more profit to the King than it was the first day, nor in itself of better credit ; no more people of condition

willing to live there, nor any thing like a place likely to turn his Majesty to account: that it hath been hitherto, and, for aught I see, likely only to be used as a job to do a kindness to some Lord, or he that can get to be Governor. Sir W. Coventry agreed with me, so as to say, that unless the King hath the wealth of the Mogul, he would be a beggar to have his businesses ordered in the manner they now are: that his garrisons must be made places only of convenience to particular persons: that he hath moved the Duke of York in it; and that it was resolved to send no Governor thither till there had been Commissioners sent to put the garrison in order, so as that he that goes may go with limitations and rules to follow, and not to do as he please, as the rest have hitherto done. That he is not afraid to speak his mind, though to the displeasure of any man; and that I know well enough; but that, when it is come, as it is now, that to speak the truth in behalf of the King plainly do no good, but all things bore down by other measures than by what is best for the King, he hath no temptation to be perpetually fighting of battles, it being more easy to him on those terms to suffer things to go on without giving any man offence, than to have the same thing done, and he contract the displeasure of all the world, as he must do, that will be for the King. To the King's little chapel; and afterwards to see the King heal the King's Evil, wherein no pleasure, I having seen it before;¹ and

¹ See 23rd June, 1650.

then to see him and the Queene and Duke of York and his wife, at dinner in the Queene's lodgings; and so with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner; where very good company; and after dinner he and I to talk alone how things are managed, and to what ruin we must come if we have not a peace. He did tell me one occasion, how Sir Thomas Allen, whom I took for a man of known courage and service on the King's side, was tried for his life in Prince Rupert's fleete, in the late times, for cowardice, and condemned to be hanged, and fled to Jersey; where Sir G. Carteret received him, not knowing the reason of his coming thither: and that thereupon Prince Rupert wrote to the Queen-Mother his dislike of Sir G. Carteret's receiving a person that stood condemned; and so Sir G. Carteret was forced to bid him betake himself to some other place. This was strange to me. Our Commissioners are preparing to go to Bredah to the treaty, and do design to be going the next week. Down by water to Deptford Dockyard, and there did a little business, all the way reading a little piece I lately bought, called "The Virtuoso, or the Stoicke," proposing many things paradoxical to our common opinions, wherein in some things he speaks well, but generally is but a sorry man. Blessed be God! I hear that my father is better and better, and will, I hope, live to enjoy some cheerful days; but it is strange what he writes me, that Mr. Weaver, of Huntingdon, who was a lusty, likely, and but a youngish man, should be dead.

11th. I to the 'Change, and there hear by Mr. Houblon of the loss of a little East Indiaman, valued at about 20,000*l.*, coming home alone, and safe to within ten leagues of Scilly, and there snapt by a French Caper.¹ Our merchants do much pray for peace; and he tells me that letters are come that the Dutch have stopped the fitting-out of their great ships, and the coming out of a fleete of theirs of 50 sayle, that was ready to come out; but I doubt the truth of it yet. Thence to Sir G. Carteret, where my Lady was, and dined with him, and very merry and good people they are, when pleased, as any I know. With Balty to Sir G. Carteret's office, and there with Mr. Fenn despatched the business of Balty's 1,500*l.* he received for the contingencies of the fleete, whereof he received about 253*l.* in pieces of eight at a goldsmith's there hard by, which did puzzle me and him to tell; for I could not tell the difference by sight, only by bigness, and that is not always discernible, between a whole and half-piece and quarter-piece. To White Hall, thinking there to have seen the Duchess of Newcastle's coming this night to Court, to make a visit to the Queene, the King having been with her yesterday, to make her a visit since her coming to town. The whole story of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic. Her footmen in velvet coats, and herself in antique dress, as they say; and was the other day at her own play,

¹ A Dutch word signifying a pirate, a *capiendo*. — SKINNER'S *Etymol. Dict.*

"The Humourous Lovers ;" the most ridiculous thing that ever was wrote, but yet she and her Lord mightily pleased with it ; and she, at the end, made her respects to the players from her box, and did give them thanks. There is as much expectation of her coming to Court, that so people may come to see her, as if it were the Queen of Sweden : but I lost my labour, for she did not come this night. There have been two fires in the City within this week.

12th. Coming home, saw my door and hatch open, left so by Luce, our cookmayde, which so vexed me, that I did give her a kick in our entry, and offered a blow at her, and was seen doing so by Sir W. Pen's footboy, which did vex me to the heart, because I know he will be telling their family of it ; though I did put on presently a very pleasant face to the boy, and spoke kindly to him, as one without passion, so as it may be he might not think I was angry, but I was troubled at it. So away by water to White Hall, and there did our usual business before the Duke of York ; but it fell out that, discoursing of matters of money, it rose to a mighty heat, very high words arising between Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry, the former in his passion saying that the other should have helped things if they were so bad ; and the other answered, so he would, and things should have been better had he been Treasurer of the Navy. I was mightily troubled at this heat, and it will breed ill blood between them I fear ; but things are in that bad condition that I do daily expect we shall all fly in one

another's faces, when we shall be reduced, every one, to answer for himself. We broke up ; and I soon after to Sir G. Carteret's chamber, where I find the poor man telling his lady privately, and she weeping. I went into them, and did seem, as indeed I was, troubled for this ; and did give the best advice I could, which, I think, did please them : and they do apprehend me their friend, as indeed I am, for I do take the Vice-chamberlain for a most honest man. He did assure me that he was not, all expences and things paid, clear in estate 15,000*l.* better than he was when the King came in ; and that the King and Lord Chancellor did know that he was worth, with the debt the King owed him, 50,000*l.*, I think, he said, when the King came into England. I did pacify all I could, and then away by water home, there to write letters and things for the dispatch of Balty away this day to sea ; and after dinner he did go, I having given him much good counsell ; and I have great hopes that he will make good use of it, and be a good man, for I find him willing to take pains and very sober. All the afternoon getting off of hand my papers, which, by the late holidays and my laziness, were grown too many upon my hands, to my great trouble, and therefore at it as long as my eyes would give me leave, and then singing in the garden with great pleasure.

13th. Wrote to my father, who, I am glad to hear, is at some ease again, and I long to have him in town, that I may see what can be done for him here ; for I

would fain do all I can, that I may have him live, and take pleasure in my doing well in the world.

11th (Lord's day). With my wife to church, and after dinner took out my wife, and the two Mercers, and two of our mayds, Barker and Jane, and over the water to the Jamaica House,¹ where I never was before, and there the girls did run for wagers over the bowling-green; and there, with much pleasure, spent little, and so home.

15th. Called up by Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that my Lord Middleton is for certain chosen Governor of Tangier; a man of moderate understanding, not covetous, but a soldier of fortune, and poor. To the King's house by chance, where a new play: so full as I never saw it; I forced to stand all the while close to the very door till I took cold, and many people went away for want of room. The King, and Queene, and Duke of York and Duchesse there, and all the Court, and Sir W. Coventry. The play called "The Change of Crownes;"² a play of Ned Howard's,³ the best that ever I saw at that house, being a great play and serious; only Lacy did act the country-gentleman come up to Court, who do abuse the Court with all the imaginable wit and plainness about selling of places, and doing every thing for money. The play took very

¹ The site of the house here alluded to was probably in Jamaica Street, Rotherhithe.

² This play was never printed, nor is it known to exist.

³ A younger son of the first Earl of Berkshire, brother to Sir Robert Howard, and brother-in-law to Dryden.

much. Thence I to my new bookseller's, and there bought "Hooker's Polity,"¹ the new edition, and "Dugdale's History of the Inns of Court," of which there was but a few saved out of the fire, and Playford's new Catch-book, that hath a great many new fooleries in it.

16th. Home to dinner, and in haste to carry my wife to see the new play I saw yesterday, she not knowing it. But there, contrary to expectation, find "The Silent Woman." However, in; and there Knipp came into the pit. I took her by me, and here we met with Mrs. Horsley, the pretty woman — an acquaintance of Mercer's, whose house is burnt. Knipp tells me the King was so angry at the liberty taken by Lacy's part² to abuse him to his face, that he commanded they should act no more, till Moone³ went and got leave for them to act again, but not this play. The King mighty angry; and it was bitter indeed, but very true and witty. I never was more taken with a play than I am with this "Silent Woman," as old as it is, and as often as I have seen it. There is more wit in it than goes to ten new plays. Thence took them all to the Cake-house, in Southampton Market-place,⁴ where Pierce told us the story how, in

¹ The edition of 1666, containing *eight* books instead of *five*, with a Life by Izaak Walton.

² In "The Change of Crownes."

³ Michael Mohun, the actor, mentioned Nov. 20, 1660. He is described as Major, in the *Dram. Pers.* of Dryden's "Assignment" as late as 1673.

⁴ Afterwards called Bloomsbury Market. The following advertisement was inserted in "The Intelligencer" of 23rd May, 1664: — "These are to give

good earnest, the King is offended with the Duke of Richmond's marrying, and Mrs. Stewart sending the King his jewels again. As he tells it, it is the noblest romance and example of a brave lady that ever I read in my life. Pretty to hear them talk of yesterday's play, and I durst not own to my wife that I had seen it.

17th. With the two Sir Williams by coach to the Duke of York. In our way, in Tower Street, we saw Desbrough¹ walking on foot: who is now no more a prisoner, and looks well, and just as he used to do heretofore. Then took my wife up and to the King's playhouse, and saw a piece of "Rolla," a play I like not much, but much good acting in it: the house very empty.

18th. With my wife to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "The Wits," a play I formerly loved, and is now corrected and enlarged: but, though I like the acting, yet I like not much in the play now. The Duke of York and W. Coventry gone to Portsmouth, makes me thus to go to plays.

19th. To the play-house, where we saw "Macbeth," which, though I have seen it often, yet is it one of the

notice to all persons, that the King's most excellent Majesty hath granted to the Right Hon. the Earl of Southampton, one market to be held by the said Earl, his heirs, and assigns for ever, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in every week, at Bloomsbury, in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, in the county of Middlesex."

¹ Major-General John Desborough, Cromwell's brother-in-law, and one of his Council of State, who had been promoted to the Chancellorship of Ireland by his nephew Richard.

best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and musique, that ever I saw. My wife tells me that she finds by W. Hewer that my people do observe my minding my pleasures more than usual, which I confess, and am ashamed of, and so from this day take upon me to leave it till Whit-Sunday. While we were sitting in the garden comes Mrs. Turner to advise about her son, the Captain, when I did give her the best advice I could, to look out for some land employment for him, a peace being at hand, when few ships will be employed and very many, and these old Captains, to be provided for. Then to other talk and about Sir W. Pen's being to buy Wansted House of Sir Robert Brookes; and I dare be hanged if ever he could mean to buy that great house, that knows not how to furnish one that is not the tenth part so big.

20th. At noon dined, and with my wife to the King's house, but there found the bill torn down and no play acted, and so being in the humour to see one, went to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "The Witts" again, which likes me better than it did the other day, having much wit in it. Here met Mr. Rolt, who tells me the reason of no play to-day at the King's house. That Lacy had been committed to the porter's lodge for his acting his part in the late new play, and being thence released to come to the King's house, he there met with Ned Howard, the poet of the play, who congratulated his release; upon which Lacy cursed him as that it was the fault of his non-

sensical play that was the cause of his ill usage. Mr. Howard did give him some reply; to which Lacy answered him, that he was more a fool than a poet; upon which Howard did give him a blow on the face with his glove; upon which Lacy, having a cane in his hand, did give him a blow over the pate. Here Rolt and others that discoursed of it in the pit did wonder that Howard did not run him through, he being too mean a fellow to fight with. But Howard did not do any thing but complain to the King of it; so the whole house is silenced, and the gentry seem to rejoice much at it, the house being become too insolent. Home, having brought with me from Fenchurch Street a hundred of sparrowgrass,¹ cost 18*d*. We had them and a little bit of salmon, which my wife had a mind to, cost 3*s*. So to supper and to bed.

21st (Lord's day). I have a mind to buy enough ground to build a coach-house and stable; for I have had it much in my thoughts lately that it is not too much for me now, in degree or cost, to keep a coach, but contrarily, that I am almost ashamed to be seen in a hackney, and therefore if I can have the convenience, I will secure the ground at least till peace comes, that I do receive encouragement to keep a coach, or else that I may part with the ground again. The place I like very well, being close to my owne house, and so resolve to go about it, and so with my wife to church, and after dinner Mercer and I sung "*Suo Moro*,"

¹ Still cockney for asparagus.

which is one of the best pieces of musique to my thinking that ever I did hear in my life. Then took coach and to Hackney church, where very full, and found much difficulty to get pews, I offering the sexton money, and he could not help me. So my wife and Mercer ventured into a pew, and I into another. A knight and his lady very civil to me when they came, being Sir G. Viner¹ and his lady — rich in jewells, but most in beauty — almost the finest woman that ever I saw. That which we went chiefly to see was the young ladies of the schools, whereof there is great store, very pretty; and also the organ, which is handsome, and tunes the psalm, and plays with the people: which is mighty pretty, and makes me mighty earnest to have a pair at our church, I having almost a mind to give them a pair, if they would settle a maintenance on them for it.

22nd. To the Lord Chancellor's house, the first time I have been therein; and it is very noble, and brave pictures of the ancient and present nobility. The King was vexed the other day for having no paper laid for him at the Council-table, as was usual; and Sir Richard Browne² did tell his Majesty he would call the person³ whose work it was to provide it: who being come, did tell his Majesty that he was but a poor

¹ Sir George Viner, in 1665, succeeded his father, Sir Thomas, who had been Lord Mayor in 1653, and created a Baronet in 1660. Sir George died in 1673. His wife was Abigail, daughter of Sir John Lawrence, Lord Mayor in 1665.

² Clerk of the Council.

³ Wooly.

man, and was out 400*l.* or 500*l.* for it, which was as much as he is worth ; and that he cannot provide it any longer without money, having not received a penny since the King's coming in. So the King spoke to my Lord Chamberlain ; and many such mementos the King do now-a-days meet withall, enough to make an ingenuous man mad.

23rd (St. George's-day). The feast being kept at White Hall, out of design, as it is thought, to make the best countenance we can to the Swede's Embassadors,¹ before their leaving us to go to the treaty abroad, to show some jollity.

24th. To St. James's, and there the Duke of York was preparing to go to some farther ceremonies about the Garter, that he could give us no audience. To Sir John Duncomb's² lodging in the Pell Mell, in order to the money spoken of in the morning ; and there awhile sat and discoursed : and I find that he is a very proper man for business, being very resolute and proud, and industrious. He told me what reformation they had made in the office of the Ordnance, taking away Legg's³ fees : and have got an order that no Treasurer after him shall ever sit at the Board ; and it is a good one : that no master of the Ordnance here shall ever sell a place. He tells me they have

¹ See 15th Nov. 1666.

² Sir John Duncomb, Burgess for Bury St. Edmunds, a Privy Councillor, and made a Commissioner of the Treasury in 1667. At this time he was in the Ordnance.

³ Colonel William Legge, father of the first Lord Dartmouth.

not paid any increase of price for any thing during this war, but in most have paid less ; and at this day have greater stores than they know where to lay, if there should be peace, and than ever was any time this war. Then to talk of newes : that he thinks the want of money hath undone the King, for the Parliament will never give the King more money without calling all people to account, nor, as he believes, will ever make war again, but they will manage it themselves : unless, which I proposed, he would visibly become a severer inspector into his own business and accounts, and that would gain upon the Parliament yet : which he confesses and confirms as the only lift to set him upon his legs, but says that it is not in his nature ever to do. He thinks that much of our misfortune hath been for want of an active Lord Treasurer, and that such a man as Sir W. Coventry would do the business thoroughly.

26th. To White Hall, and there saw the Duke of Albemarle, who is not well, and do grow crazy. While I was waiting in the matted Gallery, a young man was working in Indian inke the great picture of the King and Queen¹ sitting, by Van Dyke ; and did it very finely. Met with Ned Pickering, who tells me the ill newes of his nephew Gilbert, who is turned a very rogue. Then I took a turn with Mr. Evelyn, with whom I walked two hours, till almost one of the clock : talking of the badness of the Government,

¹ Charles I. and Henrietta Maria.

where nothing but wickedness, and wicked men and women command the King: that it is not in his nature to gainsay any thing that relates to his pleasures; that much of it arises from the sickliness of our Ministers of State, who cannot be about him as the idle companions are, and therefore he gives way to the young rogues; and then, from the negligence of the Clergy, that a Bishop shall never be seen about him, as the King of France hath always: that the King would fain have some of the same gang to be Lord Treasurer, which would be yet worse, for now some delays are put to the getting gifts of the King, as Lady Byron,¹ who had been, as he called it, the King's seventeenth mistress abroad, did not leave him till she had got him to give her an order for 4,000*l.* worth of plate to be made for her; but by delays, thanks be to God! she died before she had it. He tells me mighty stories of the King of France, how great a prince he is.² He hath made a code to shorten the law; he hath put out all the ancient commanders of castles that were become hereditary; he hath made all the fryers subject to the bishops, which before were only subject to Rome, and so were hardly the King's subjects, and that none shall become *religieux* but at such an age, which he thinks will in

¹ Eleanor, daughter of Robert Needham, Viscount Kilmurrey, and widow of Peter Warburton, became in 1644 the second wife of John Byron, first Lord Byron. Ob. 1663.

² All these assertions respecting the King of France must be received cautiously. Pepys was very ignorant of foreign matters, and very credulous.

a few years ruin the Pope, and bring France into a patriarchate. He confirmed to me the business of the want of paper at the Council-table the other day, which I have observed ; Wooly being to have found it, and did, being called, tell the King to his face the reason of it ; and Mr. Evelyn tells me of several of the menial servants of the Court lacking bread, that have not received a farthing wages since the King's coming in. He tells me the King of France hath his mistresses, but laughs at the foolery of our King, that makes his bastards princes,¹ and loses his revenue upon them, and makes his mistresses his masters : and the King of France did never grant Lavalliere² any thing to bestow on others, and gives a little subsistence, but no more, to his bastards. He told me the whole story of Mrs. Stewart's going away from Court, he knowing her well ; and believes her, up to her leaving the Court, to be as virtuous as any woman in the world : and told me, from a Lord that she told it to but yesterday, with her own mouth, and a sober man, that when the Duke of Richmond did make love to her, she did ask the King, and he did the like

¹ Louis made his own bastards dukes and princes, and legitimized them as much as he could, connecting them also by marriage with the real blood-royal.

² Louise Françoise de la Baume le Blanc de la Vallière had four children by Louis XIV., of whom only two survived — Marie Anne Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Blois. born in 1666, afterwards married to the Prince de Conti, and the Comte de Vermandois, born in 1667. In that year (the very year in which Evelyn was giving this account to Pepys), the Duchy of Vaujour and two Baronies were created in favour of La Vallière and her daughter, who, in the deed of creation, was legitimized, and styled Princess.

also ; and that the King did not deny it, and [she] told this Lord that she was come to that pass as to have resolved to have married any gentleman of 1,500*l.* a-year that would have had her in honour ; for it was come to that pass, that she could not longer continue at Court without prostituting herself to the King,¹ whom she had so long kept off, though he had liberty more than any other had, or he ought to have, as to dalliance.² She told this Lord that she had reflected upon the occasion she had given the world to think her a bad woman, and that she had no way but to marry and leave the Court, rather in this way of discontent than otherwise, that the world might see that she sought not any thing but her honour ; and that she will never come to live at Court more than when she comes to town to kiss the Queene her Mistress's hand : and hopes, though she hath little reason to hope, she can please her Lord so as to reclaim him, that they may yet live comfortably in the country on his estate. She told this Lord that all the jewells she ever had given her at Court, or any other presents, more than the King's allowance of 700*l.* per annum out of the Privy-purse for her clothes, were, at her first coming the King did give her a necklace of pearl

¹ Even at a much later time, Mrs. Godolphin well resolved "not to talk foolishly to men, *more especially* THE KING,"—"be sure *never to talk to* THE KING."—*Life* by Evelyn. These expressions speak volumes as to Charles's character.

² Evelyn evidently believed the Duchess of Richmond to be innocent ; and his testimony, coupled with her own declaration, ought to weigh down all the scandal which Pepys reports from other sources.

of about 1,100*l*.¹ and afterwards, about seven months since, when the King had hopes to have obtained some courtesy of her, the King did give her some jewells, I have forgot what, and I think a pair of pendants. The Duke of York, being once her Valentine, did give her a jewell of about 800*l*.; and my Lord Mandeville, her Valentine this year, a ring of about 300*l*.; and the King of France would have had her mother,² who, he says, is one of the most cunning women in the world, to have let her stay in France, saying that he loved her not as a mistress, but as one that he could marry as well as any lady in France; and that, if she might stay, for the honour of his Court he would take care she should not repent. But her mother, by command of the Queen-mother, thought rather to bring her into England; and the King of France did give her a jewell: so that Mr. Evelyn believes she may be worth in jewells about 6,000*l*., and that that is all she hath in the world: and a worthy woman; and in this hath done as great an act of honour as ever was done by woman. That now the Countess Castlemaine do carry all before her: and among other arguments to prove Mrs. Stewart to have been honest to the last, he says that the King's keeping in still with my Lady Castlemaine do show it; for

¹ Which she returned to the King.

² This lady's name nowhere appears. She was the wife of the Hon. Walter Stuart, M.D., third son of Walter, first Lord Blantyre. The Duchess of Richmond, Frances Teresa, was her elder daughter. The younger, Sophia, married the Hon. Henry Bulkeley, master of the household to Charles II. and James II.

he never was known to keep two mistresses in his life, and would never have kept to her had he prevailed any thing with Mrs. Stewart. She is gone yesterday with her Lord to Cobham.¹ He did tell me of the ridiculous humour of our King and Knights of the Garter the other day, who, whereas heretofore their robes were only to be worn during their ceremonies and service, these, as proud of their coats, did wear them all day till night, and then rode into the Parke with them on. Nay, and he tells me he did see my Lord Oxford and the Duke of Monmouth in a hackney-coach with two footmen in the Parke, with their robes on: which is a most scandalous thing, so as all gravity may be said to be lost among us. By and by we discoursed of Sir Thomas Clifford,² whom I took for a very rich and learned man, and of the great family of that name. He tells me he is only a man of about seven-score pounds a-year, of little learning

¹ Cobham Hall, in Kent, after the attainder of Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, was granted by James I. to Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lennox, and his brother George, Lord Aubigny, from whom it descended to Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, in 1660. This Duke dying, s. p., in 1672, when ambassador to Denmark, the estates, together with the English barony of Clifton, passed, through his sister, Lady Catherine O'Brien, to the ancestor of the Earl of Darnley, the present possessor. Lady Catherine O'Brien married Sir Joseph Williamson, who repurchased the Cobham estates, when sold, and preserved them to the family.

² Sir Thomas Clifford was the eldest son of Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, in Devonshire, who had been entrusted with the command of a regiment of foot for the King, in the beginning of the Rebellion. Sir Thomas attended the Duke of York in the great sea-fight with the Dutch, 3rd June, 1665. On the 20th April, 1672, he was created Baron Clifford, of Chudleigh, co. Devon; and on 28th November following, appointed Lord High Treasurer. Ob. 1673. — LODGE'S *Portraits*.

more than the law of a justice of peace, which he knows well: a parson's son, got to be burgess in a little borough in the West, and here fell into the acquaintance of my Lord Arlington, whose creature he is, and never from him; a man of virtue, and comely, and good parts enough; and hath come into his place with a great grace, though with a great skip over the heads of a great many, as Chichly and Denham, and some Lords that did expect it. By the way, he tells me, that of all the great men of England there is none that endeavours more to raise those that he takes into favour than my Lord Arlington; and that, on that score, he is much more to be made one's patron than my Lord Chancellor, who never did, nor never will do, any thing, but for money.¹ After having this long discourse we parted, and I home, and after dinner to White Hall, there to attend the Duke of York before council, and here he did tell us how the King of France is intent upon his design against Flanders, and has drawn up a remonstrance of the cause of the war, and appointed the 20th of the next month for his rendezvous, and himself to prepare for the campaign the 30th, so that this, we are in hopes, will keep him in employment. Turenne is to be general. Certain newes of the Dutch being abroad on our coast with twenty-four great ships. Met my Lady Newcastle going with her coaches and footmen all in velvet: herself, whom I never saw before, as I have heard her

¹ See 9th Sept. 1665, *ante*.

often described, for all the town-talk is now-a-days of her extravagancies, with her velvet-cap, her hair about her ears ; many black patches, because of pimples about her mouth ; naked-necked, without any thing about it, and a black just-au-corps. She seemed to me a very comely woman : but I hope to see more of her on May-day.

27th. This afternoon I got in some coals at 23s. per chaldron, a good hearing, I thank God — having not been put to buy a coal all this dear time, that during this war poor people have been forced to give 45s. and 50s., and 3*l*. My wife and people busy these late days, and will be for some time, making of shirts and smocks. With Mr. Moore, discoursing of my Lord Sandwich's family, which he tells me is in very bad condition, for want of money and management, my Lord's charging them with bills, and nobody, nor any thing provided to answer them.

28th (Lord's day). After dinner, by water — the day being mighty pleasant, and the tide serving finely, reading in Boyle's book of colours, as high as Barne Elmes, and there took one turn alone, and then back to Putney Church, where I saw the girls of the schools, few of which pretty ; and there I came into a pew, and met with little James Pierce, which I was much pleased at, the little rogue being very glad to see me : his master, Reader to the Church. Here was a good sermon and much company, but I sleepy, and a little out of order, at my hat falling down through a hole beneath the pulpit, which, however, after sermon, by

a stick, and the helpe of the clerke, I got up again. And so by water, the tide being with me again, down to Deptford, and there I walked down the Yard, Shish¹ and Cox with me, and discoursed about cleaning of the wet docke, and heard, which I had before, how, when the docke was made, a ship of nearly 500 tons was there found; a ship supposed of Queene Elizabeth's time, and well wrought, with a great deal of stone-shot in her, of eighteen inches diameter, which was shot then in use: and afterwards meeting with Captain Perriman and Mr. Castle at Half-way Tree, they tell me of stone-shot of thirty-six inches diameter, which they shot out of mortar-pieces.²

29th. I hear that the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of York's son, is very sick; and my Lord Treasurer very bad of the stone, and hath been so some days. Sir G. Carteret tells me my Lord Arlington hath done like a gentleman by him in all things. He says, if my Lord [Sandwich] were here, he were the fittest man to be Lord Treasurer of any man in England; and he thinks it might be compassed; for he confesses that the King's matters do suffer through the inability of

¹ On 13th June, 1680, Evelyn attended the funeral of old Mr. Jonas Shish, master shipwright of the King's yard at Deptford, whom he describes as a remarkable man, and his death a public loss (although altogether illiterate), and for breeding up so many of his children to be able artists. He was born in 1605. Evelyn adds, "I held up the pall with three knights, who did him that honour, and he was worthy of it." See "*Diary*," vol. ii. p. 142, edit. 1850.

² At the passage of the Dardanelles, in 1807, a stone shot, fired by the Turks from the Castle of Sestos, entered the Lion, of sixty-four guns, and killed and wounded a great many men. It weighed 770 pounds.

this man, who is likely to die, and he will propound him to the King. It will remove him from his place at sea, and the King will have a good place to bestow. He says to me, that he could wish, when my Lord comes, that he would think fit to forbear playing, as a thing below him, and which will lessen him, as it do my Lord St. Albans, in the King's esteem : and as a great secret tells me that he hath made a match for my Lord Hinchingbroke to a daughter¹ of my Lord Burlington's, where there is a great alliance, 10,000*l.* portion ; a civil family, and relation to my Lord Chancellor, whose son hath married one of the daughters ;² and that my Lord Chancellor do take it with very great kindness, so that he do hold himself obliged by it. My Lord Sandwich hath referred it to my Lord Crew, Sir G. Carteret, and Mr. Montagu, to end it. My Lord Hinchingbroke and the lady know nothing yet of it. It will, I think, be very happy. Home, where I settled to my chamber about my accounts till twelve at night, when news is brought me that there is a great fire in Southwarke : so we up to the leads, and then I and the boy down to the end of our lane, and there saw it, it seeming pretty great, but nothing to the fire of London, that it made me think little of it. We could at that distance see an engine play — that is, the water go out, it being moonlight. By and by, it begun to slacken, and then I home and to bed.

¹ Lady Anne Boyle.

² Lawrence Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester, married Lady Henrietta Boyle.

30th. Sir John Winter to discourse with me about the forest of Deane, and then about my Lord Treasurer, and asking me whether, as he had heard, I had not been cut for the stone, I took him to my closet, and there showed it to him, of which he took the dimensions, and I believe will show my Lord Treasurer it. I met with Mr. Pierce, and he tells me the Duke of Cambridge is very ill and full of spots about his body, that Dr. Frazier knows not what to think of it. So home and to my chamber, to my accounts and finished them to my heart's wish and admiration, they being grown very intricate, being let alone for two months, but to my sorrow the Poll money I paid this month and mourning have made me 80*l.* a worse man than at my last balance, so that I am worth now but 6,700*l.*, which is yet an infinite mercy to me, for which God make me thankful.

May 1st. To Westminster; in the way meeting many milk-maids with their garlands upon their pails, dancing with a fiddler before them; and saw pretty Nelly ¹ standing at her lodgings' door in Drury-lane in her smock sleeves and bodice, looking upon one: she seemed a mighty pretty creature. My Lord Crew walked with me, giving me an account of the meeting of the Commissioners for Accounts, whereof he is one. How some of the gentlemen, Garraway, Littleton, and others, did scruple at their first coming there, being called thither to act, as Members of Parliament, which

¹ Nell Gwyn.

they could not do by any authority but that of the Parliament, and therefore desired the King's direction in it, which was sent for by my Lord Bridgewater,¹ who brought answer, very short, that the King expected they should obey his Commission. Then they went on, and observed a power to be given them of administering and framing an oath, which they thought they could not do by any power but Act of Parliament; and the whole Commission did think fit to have the Judges' opinion in it; and so, drawing up their scruples in writing, they all attended the King, who told them he would send to the Judges to be answered, and did so; who have, my Lord tells me, met three times about it, not knowing what answer to give to it; and they have met this week, doing nothing but expecting the solution of the judges in this point. My Lord tells me he do believe this Commission will do more hurt than good; it may undo some accounts, if these men shall think fit; but it can never clear an account, for he must come into the Exchequer for all this. Besides, it is a kind of inquisition that hath seldom, if ever, been granted in England; and he believes it will never, besides, give any satisfaction to the People or Parliament, but be looked upon as a forced, packed business of the King, especially if these Parliament-men that are of it shall not concur with them: which he doubts they will not, and, therefore, wishes much that the King would lay hold of this fit occasion,

¹ John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgewater, Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Bucks and Hertford. Ob. 1686.

and let the Commission fall. Then to talk of my Lord Sandwich, whom my Lord Crew hath a great desire might get to be Lord Treasurer if the present Lord should die, as it is believed he will, in a little time ; and thinks he can have no competitor but my Lord Arlington, who, it is given out, desires it : but my Lord thinks not, for that the being Secretary do keep him a greater interest with the King than the other would do : at least, do believe, that if my Lord would surrender him his Wardrobe place, it would be a temptation to Arlington to assist my Lord in getting the Treasurer's. I did object to my Lord [Crewe] that it would be no place of content, nor safety, nor honour for my Lord, the State being so indigent as it is, and the King so irregular, and those about him, that my Lord must be forced to part with any thing to answer his warrants ; and that, therefore, I do believe the King had rather have a man that may be one of his vicious caball, than a sober man that will mind the publick, that so they may sit at cards and dispose of the revenue of the kingdom. This my Lord was moved at, and said he did not indeed know how to answer it, and bid me think of it ; and so said he himself would also do. He do mightily cry out of the bad management of our monies, the King having had so much given him ; and yet, when the Parliament do find that the King should have 900,000*l.* in his purse by the best account of issues they have yet seen, yet we should report in the Navy a debt due from the King of 900,000*l.* ; which, I did confess, I doubted

was true in the first, and knew to be true in the last, and did believe that there was some great miscarriages in it: which he owned to believe also, saying, that at this rate it is not in the power of the kingdom to make a war, nor answer the King's wants. Thence away to the King's playhouse, and saw "*Love in a Maze*:"¹ but a sorry play: only Lacy's clowne's part, which he did most admirably indeed; and I am glad to find the rogue at liberty again. Here was but little, and that ordinary, company. We sat at the upper bench next the boxes; and I find it do pretty well, and have the advantage of seeing and hearing the great people, which may be pleasant when there is good store. Now was only Prince Rupert and my Lord Lauderdale, and my Lord ——² the naming of whom puts me in mind of my seeing, at Sir Robert Viner's, two or three great silver flagons, made with inscriptions as gifts of the King to such and such persons of quality as did stay in town the late great plague, for the keeping things in order in the town. But here was neither Hart, Nell, nor Knipp; therefore, the play was not likely to please me. Thence Sir W. Pen and I in his coach, Tiburne way, into the Park, where a horrid dust, and number of coaches, without pleasure or order. That which we, and almost all went for, was to see my Lady Newcastle; which we could not, she being followed and crowded upon by coaches all the way she went, that nobody could come near her;

¹ The second title of Shirley's play of "*The Changes*."

² Probably Craven.

only I could see she was in a large black coach, adorned with silver instead of gold, and so white curtains, and every thing black and white, and herself in her cap. But that which I did see, and wonder at with reason, was to find Pegg Pen in a new coach, with only her husband's pretty sister¹ with her, both patched and very fine, and in much the finest coach in the park, and I think that ever I did see one or other, for neatness and richness in gold, and every thing that is noble. My Lady Castlemaine, the King, my Lord St. Albans, Mr. Jermyn, have not so neat a coach, that ever I saw. And, Lord! to have them have this, and nothing else that is correspondent, is to me one of the most ridiculous sights that ever I did see, though her present dress was well enough; but to live in the condition they do at home, and be abroad in this coach, astonishes me. When we had spent half an hour in the Park, we went out again, weary of the dust, and despairing of seeing my Lady Newcastle; and to St. James's. But we staying by the way to drink, she got home a little before us: so we lost our labours, and then home; where we find the two young ladies come home, and their patches off; I suppose Sir W. Pen do not allow of them in his sight. Sir W. Pen did give me an account this afternoon of his design of buying Sir Robert Brooke's fine house at Wansted; which I so wondered at, and did give him reasons against it, which he allowed of:

¹ Margaret Lowther, afterwards the wife of Sir John Holmes.

and told me that he did intend to pull down the house and build a less, and that he should get 1,500*l.* by the old house, and I know not what fooleries. But I will never believe he ever intended to buy it, for my part ;¹ though he troubled Mr. Gauden to go and look upon it, and advise him in it.

2nd. To my Lord Treasurer's, who continues so ill as not to be troubled with business.

3rd. To the Duke of York's chamber, which, as it is now fretted at the top, and the chimney-piece made handsome, is one of the noblest and best-proportioned rooms that ever, I think, I saw. Among other things, we had a proposition of Mr. Pierce's, for being continued in pay, or something done for him, in reward of his pains as Chyrurgeon-Generall ; forasmuch as Troutbecke,² that was never a doctor before, hath got 200*l.* a year settled on him for nothing but that one voyage with the Duke of Albemarle. The Duke and the whole company did show most particular kindness to Mr. Pierce, every body moving for him, and the Duke himself most, that he is likely to be a very great man, I believe. To Westminster by coach ; the Cofferer³ telling us odd stories how he was dealt with by the men of the Church at Westminster in taking a lease of them at the King's coming in,⁴ and particu-

¹ Pepys's conjecture proved right. The house was not sold till Sir R. Brookes's death, when his heirs alienated it to Sir Josiah Child.

² See Nov. 4, 1666, *ante*.

³ William Ashburnham.

⁴ The lease here mentioned was of one of the prebendal mansions in the Cloisters, known as Ashburnham House. The Cottonian Library was depos-

larly the devilish covetousness of Dr. Busby.¹ Sir Stephen Fox, in discourse, told him how he is selling some land he hath, which yields him not above three per cent., if so much, and turning it into money, which he can put out at ten per cent.; and, as times go, if they be like to continue, it is the best way for me to keep money going so, for aught I see. Took a turn with my old acquaintance Mr. Pechell, whose red nose makes me ashamed to be seen with him, though otherwise a good-natured man. So away, I not finding of Mr. Moore, with whom I should have met and spoke about a letter I this day received from him from my Lord Hinchinbroke, wherein he desires me to help him to 1,900*l.* to pay a bill of exchange of his father's, which troubles me much, but I will find some way, if I can do it, but not to bring myself in bonds or disbursements for it, whatever comes of it. My wife and I, it being a most curious clear evening, after some rain to-day, took a most excellent tour by coach to Bow, and there drank and back again, and so a little at the office and home to read a little and to supper and bed, mightily refreshed with this evening's tour, but troubled that it has hindered my

ited in it at a later period; and, in 1731, the disastrous fire occurred there which consumed so many treasures, and injured others. It was the residence of the Rev. H. H. Milman, one of the Canons of Westminster, until his elevation to the Deanery of St. Paul's in 1849. A view of the fine staircase, still existing in old Ashburnham House, is given in Britton and Brayley's "Public Buildings."

¹ Richard Busby, D.D., Master of Westminster School, and, in 1660, made a Prebendary of Westminster. He proved, at all events, a liberal benefactor to Christ Church, Oxford, and Lichfield Cathedral. Ob. 1695, aged 89.

doing some business which I would have done at the office. This day the newes is come that the fleete of the Dutch, of about 20 ships, which came upon our coasts upon design to have intercepted our colliers, but by good luck failed, is gone to the Frith, and there lies, perhaps to trouble the Scotch privateers, which have galled them of late very much, it may be more than all our last year's fleete.

4th. To the office, where a great conflict I had with Sir W. Warren, he bringing a letter to the Board, flatly in words charging them with their delays in passing his accounts, which have been with them these two years, part of which I said was not true, and the other indecent. So I writ in the margin of the letter, "Returned as untrue," and, by consent of the Board, did give it him again.

5th (Lord's day). Up and going down to the water side, I met Sir John Robinson and so with him by coach to White Hall, still a vain, prating, boasting man as any I know, as if the whole City and Kingdom had all its work done by him. He tells me he hath now got a street ordered to be continued, forty feet broad, from Paul's through Cannon Street to the Tower,¹ which will be very fine. He and others this day, where I was in the afternoon, do tell me of at least six or eight fires within these few days; and continually stirs of fires, and real fires there have been, in one place or other, almost ever since the late great

¹ Now only (June, 1853) being carried into execution.

fire, as if there was a fate sent people for fire. I walked over the Park to Sir W. Coventry's. Among other things to tell him what I hear of people being forced to sell their bills before September for 35 and 40 per cent. loss, and what is worst, that there are some courtiers that have made a knot to buy them, in hopes of some ways to get money of the King to pay them, which Sir W. Coventry is amazed at, and says we are a people made up for destruction, and will do what he can to prevent all this by getting the King to provide wherewith to pay them. We talked of Tangier, of which he is ashamed; also that it should put the King to this charge for no good in the world: and now a man going over that is a good soldier, but a debauched man, which the place need not to have. And so used these words: "That this place was to the King as my Lord Carnarvon¹ says of wood, that it is an excrescence of the earth provided by God for the payment of debts." So home to church, most of the best of our parish gone into the country, or at least not at church, and so to dinner, and then had a little scolding with my wife for not being fine enough to go to the christening to-day, but I was in an ill humour and ashamed, indeed, that she should not go dressed. However, friends by and by, and we went by water to Michell's, and there his little house full, and mighty merry in this innocent company, and so the child was christened; my wife, his father, and her

¹ Charles Dormer, second Earl of Carnarvon. Ob., s. p., 1709. His father was killed at the battle of Newbury, fighting under the royal banner.

mother, the witnesses and the child's name Elizabeth. So we had gloves and wine and wafers, very pretty, and talked and tattled, and so we away by water and up with the tide as high as Barne Elms, it being a fine evening, and back again, and then home to supper and to bed with much pleasure. This day Sir W. Coventry tells me the Dutch fleete shot some shot, four or five hundred, into Burnt Island in the Frith, but without any hurt; and so are gone.

6th. Up and angry with my mayds for letting in watermen, and I know not who, anybody that they are acquainted with, into the kitchen to talk and prate with them, which I will not endure. Then to the Exchequer to consult about some way of getting our poor Creditors of the Navy, who served in their goods before the last Session of Parliament, paid out of the 11 months tax, which seems to relate only for goods to be then served in, and I think I have found out a way to bring them into the Act, which, if it do, I shall think a good service done. Thence by coach with Captain Cocke, in our way talking of my Lord Brouncker and his Lady, who are mighty angry with us all of the office, about Carcasse's business, but especially with me, and in great confidence he bids me have a care of him, for he has said that he would wound me with the person where my greatest interest is. I suppose he means Sir W. Coventry, and therefore I will beware of him, and am glad, though vexed to hear it. So home to dinner, where Creed came, whom I vexed devilishly with telling him a wise man,

and good friend of his and mine, did say that he lately went into the country to Hinchinbroke ; and, at his coming to town again, had shifted his lodgings, only to avoid paying to the Poll Bill, which is so true that he blushed, and could not in words deny it, but the fellow did think to have had it not discovered. He is so devilish a subtle false rogue, that I am really weary and afeard of his company, and therefore after dinner to my office, where busy late, then home to supper and sing with my wife, who do begin to give me real pleasure with her singing.

7th. To St. James's ; but there find Sir W. Coventry gone out betimes this morning, on horseback, with the King and Duke of York, to Putneyheath, to run some horses. To dinner, where W. Hewer dined with us and he and I to discourse of Carcasse's business, wherein I apparently now do manage it wholly against my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Pen, like a false rogue, shrinking out of the collar, Sir J. Minnes, a fool, being easily led either way, and Sir W. Batten, a malicious fellow that is not able to defend anything, so that the whole odium must fall on me. It vexes me to see with what a company I am mixed, but then it pleases me to see that I am reckoned the chief mover among them, as they do confess and esteem me in every thing.

8th. To enquire about the ground behind our house, of which I have a mind to buy enough to make a stable and coach-house ; for I do see that my condition do require it, as well as that it is more charge to my purse to live as I do than to keep one. So I

home, where I find my wife's flageolet master, and I am so pleased with her proceeding, though she has lost time by not practising, that I am resolved for the encouragement of the man to learn myself a little for a month or so, for I do foresee if God send my wife and I to live, she will become very good company for me. He gone, comes Lovell with my little print of my dear Lady Castlemaine varnished, and the frame prettily done like gold, which pleases me well.

9th. Sir W. Coventry tells me he hears stories of Commissioner Pett, of selling timber to the Navy under other names, which I told him I believe is true, and did give him an instance. He told me also how his clerk Floyd he hath put away for his common idleness and ill company, and particularly that yesterday he was found not able to come and attend him, by being run into the arme in a squabble, though he pretends it was done in the streets by strangers, at nine at night, by the Maypole in the Strand. Sir W. Coventry did write to me this morning to recommend him another, which I could find in my heart to do W. Hewer for his good; but do believe he will not part with me, nor have I any mind to let him go. I would my brother were fit for it, I would adventure him there. He insists upon an unmarried man, that can write well, and hath French enough to transcribe it only from a copy, and may write short-hand, if it may be. To my Lord Chancellor at Clarendon House,¹

¹ It stood on the north side of Piccadilly between Berkeley Street and Bond Street, and fronting St. James's Palace. "One unpopular act of his

to a Committee for Tangier, where several things spoke of and proceeded on, and particularly sending Commissioners thither before the new Governor goes, which I think will signify as much good as any thing else that has been done about the place, which is none at all. I did again tell the badness of their credit by the time their tallys took before they become payable, and their spending more than their fund. They seem well satisfied with what I said, and I am glad that I may be remembered that I do tell them the case plain ; but it troubled me that I see them hot upon it, that the Governor shall not be paymaster, which will trouble me either to the providing one there to do it (which I will never undertake), or leave the employment, which I had rather do. Mightily pleased with the noblenesse of this house, and the brave furniture and pictures, which indeed is very noble. With Sir G. Carteret in his coach to Hide Park, telling me all his concernments, and how he is gone through with the purchase for my Lady Jemimah and her husband ; how the Treasury is like to come into the hands of

[Clarendon] is not to be forgot, because it had a great influence in a short time, and this was the building a very stately large house by the *Park*, called *Clarendon House*, which, in a little time, obtained the name of *Dunkirk House*, as though it had been built by the money taken for the sale of that place. This house was built in the Chancellor's absence in the plague year, principally at the charge of the Vintners' Company, who, designing to monopolize his favour, made it abundantly more large and magnificent than ever he intended or desired. And I have been assured by an unquestionable hand, that when he came to see the case of that house, he rather submitted than consented, and, with a sigh, said, 'This house will one day be my ruin.'" — ECHARD, vol. iii. p. 192. See 20th Feb. 1664-5, and 31st Jan. 1665-6.

a Committee ; but that not that, nor anything else, will do our business, unless the King himself will mind his business, and how his servants do execute their parts : that the King is very kind to him, and to my Lord Sandwich, and that he doubts not but at his coming home, which he expects about Michaelmas, he will be very well received. My Lady Jemimah looks to lie down about two months hence. In our street, at the Three Tuns' Tavern, I find a great hubbub ; and what was it but two brothers had fallen out, and one killed the other. And who should they be but the two Fieldings ; one whereof, Bazill, was page to my Lady Sandwich ; and he hath killed the other,¹ himself being drunk, and so is sent to Newgate.

10th. At noon to Kent's, at the Three Tuns' Tavern : and there the constable of the parish did show us the picklocks and dice that were found in the dead man's pocket, and but 18*d.* in money : and a table-book, wherein were entered the names of several places where he was to go ; and among others Kent's house, where he was to dine, and did dine yesterday : and after dinner went into the church, and there saw his corpse with the wound in his left breast ; a sad spectacle, and a broad wound, which makes my hand now shake to write of it. His brother intending, it seems, to kill the coachman, who did not please him, this fellow stepped in, and took away his sword ; who

¹ It was Basil who was killed. He was the fourth son of George Fielding, Earl of Desmond, who died v. p., and whose eldest son, on the death of his grandfather, succeeded to the Earldom of Denbigh.

thereupon took out his knife, which was of the fashion, with a falchion blade, and a little cross at the hilt like a dagger; and with that stabbed him. Drove hard towards Clerkenwell,¹ thinking to have overtaken my Lady Newcastle, whom I saw before us in her coach, with 100 boys and girls running looking upon her: but I could not: and so she got home before I could come up to her. But I will get a time to see her.

11th. Up, and being called on by Mr. Commander, he and I out to the ground behind Sir W. Pen's, where I am resolved to take a lease of some of it for a stable and coach-house, and so to keep a coach, unless some change come before I can do it, for I do see it is greater charge to me now in hacknies, and I am a little dishonoured by going in them. So home, and there found my door open, which makes me very angry with Nell, and do think to put her away for it, though it do so go against me to part with a servant that it troubles me more than anything in the world. So away with my wife, whose being dressed this day in fair hair did make me so mad, that I spoke not one word to her in our going, though I was ready to burst with anger. So to White Hall to the Committee of Tangier, where they were discoursing about laws for the civil government of the place, but so dull and so little to the purpose that I fell to slumber, when the fear of being seen by Sir W. Coventry did trouble me much afterwards, but I hope he did not. After that, Creed and I into

¹ Where part of old Newcastle House still exists.

the Park, and walked, a most pleasant evening, and so took coach, and took up my wife, and in my way home discovered my trouble to my wife for her white locks, swearing several times, which I pray God forgive me for, and bending my fist, that I would not endure it. She, poor wretch, was surprized with it, and made me no answer all the way home ; but there we parted, and I to the office late, and then home, and without supper to bed, vexed.

12th (Lord's day). Up, and to my chamber, to settle some accounts there, and by and by down comes my wife to me in her night-gown, and we begun calmly, that upon having money to lace her gown for second mourning, she would promise to wear white locks no more in my sight, which I, like a severe fool, thinking not enough, begun to except against, and made her fly out to very high terms and cry, and in her heat told me of keeping company with Mrs. Knipp, saying, that if I would promise never to see her more — of whom she hath more reason to suspect than I had heretofore of Pembleton — she would never wear white locks more. This vexed me, but I restrained myself from saying anything, but do think never to see this woman — at least, to have her here more, but by and by I did give her money to buy lace, and she promised to wear no more white locks while I lived, and so all very good friends as ever. My wife and I bethought ourselves to go to a French house to dinner, and so enquired out Monsieur Robins, my perriwig-maker, who keeps an ordinary, and in an ugly street in Covent Garden, did

find him at the door, and so we in ; and in a moment almost had the table covered, and clean glasses, and all in the French manner, and a mess of potage first, and then a couple of pigeons, and then a piece of bœuf-a-la mode, all exceeding well seasoned, and to our great liking ; at least it would have been anywhere else but in this bad street, and in a perriwig-maker's house ; but to see the pleasant and ready attendance that we had, and all things so desirous to please, and ingenious in the people, did take me mightily. Our dinner cost us 6s. Walked over the fields to Kingsland, and back again ; a walk, I think, I have not taken these twenty years : but puts me in mind of my boy's time, when I boarded at Kingsland, and used to shoot with my bow and arrows in these fields. A very pretty place it is ; and little did any of my friends think I should come to walk in these fields in this condition and state that I am. Then took coach again, and home through Shoreditch ; and at home my wife finds Barker to have been abroad, and telling her so many lies about it, that she struck her, and the wench said she would not stay with her : so I examined the wench, and found her in so many lies myself, that I was glad to be rid of her, and so resolved having her go away to-morrow.

13th. My wife rising to send away Barker, according to our resolution last night, and she did do it with more clothes than have cost us 10*l.*, and 20*s.* in her purse, which I did for the respect I bear Mr. Falconbridge, otherwise she had not deserved half of it. This

morning came Sir H. Cholmly to me for a tally or two ; and tells me that he hears that we are by agreement to give the King of France Nova Scotia, which he do not like : but I do not know the importance of it.¹ Sir Philip Warwick do please himself, like a good man, to tell some of the good ejaculations of my Lord Treasurer concerning the little worth of this world, to buy it with so much pain, and other things fit for a dying man.

14th. To my Lord Chancellor's, where I met Mr. Povy, expecting the coming of the rest of the Commissioners for Tangier. Here I understand how the two Dukes, both the only sons of the Duke of York, are sick even to danger, and that on Sunday last they were both so ill, as that the poor Duchess was in doubt which would die first : the Duke of Cambridge of some general disease ; the other little Duke,² whose title I know not, of the convulsion fits, of which he had four this morning. Fear that either of them might be dead, did make us think that it was the occasion that the Duke of York and others were not come to the meeting of the Commission which was designed, and my Lord Chancellor did expect. And it was

¹ Nova Scotia and the adjoining countries were called by the French *ACADIE*. Pepys is not the only official personage whose ignorance of Nova Scotia is on record. A story is current of a prime minister who was surprised at hearing Cape Breton was an island. "Egad, I'll go tell the King Cape Breton is an island!" Of the same it is said, that when told Annapolis was in danger, and ought to be defended: "Oh! certainly Annapolis must be defended, — where is Annapolis?"

² Charles Stuart, Duke of Kendal, born 1666.

pretty to observe how, when my Lord sent down to St. James's to see why the Duke of York came not, and Mr. Povy, who went, returned, my Lord (Chancellor) did ask, not how the Princes or the Dukes do, as other people do, but "How do the children?" which methought was mighty great, and like a great man and grandfather. I find every body mightily concerned for these children, as a matter wherein the State is much concerned that they should live.

15th. This morning my wife had some things brought home by a new woman of the New Exchange, one Mrs. Smith, whom she would have me see for her fine hand, and indeed it is a fine hand, and the woman I have observed is a mighty pretty looked woman. To the Duke of York's chamber, who, when ready, we to our usual business, and I presented our report about Carcasse, and did afterwards read it with that success that the Duke of York was for punishing him, not only with turning him out of the office, but what other punishment he could, which nobody did forward, and so he escaped, only he giving security to secure the King against double tickets of his and other things that he might have wronged the King or subject in before his dismissal. It happened that my Lord Arlington coming in by chance was at the hearing of all this, which I was not sorry for, for he did move or did second the Duke of York that this roguery of his might be put in the News-book that it might be made publique to satisfy for the wrong the credit of this office has received by this rogue's occasion. So with

utmost content I away with Sir G. Carteret to London, talking all the way ; and he do tell me that the business of my Lord Hinchinbroke his marriage with my Lord Burlington's daughter is concluded on by all friends ; and that my Lady is now told of it, and do mightily please herself with it ; which I am mighty glad of. News still that my Lord Treasurer is so ill as not to be any man of this world ; and it is said that the Treasury shall be managed by Commission. I would to God Sir G. Carteret, or my Lord Sandwich, be in it ! But the latter is the more fit for it. This day going to White Hall, Sir W. Batten did tell me strange stories of Sir W. Pen, how he is already ashamed of the fine coach which his son-in-law and daughter have made and indeed it is one of the most ridiculous things for people of their low, mean fashion to make such a coach that ever I saw. He tells me how his people come as they do to mine every day to borrow one thing or other, and that his Lady has been forced to sell some coals in the late dear time, only to enable her to pay money that she has borrowed of Griffin to defray her family expense, which is a strange story for a rogue that spends so much money on clothes and other occasions himself as he do.

16th. This being Holy Thursday, when the boys go on procession round the parish, we were to go to the Three Tuns' Tavern, to dine with the rest of the parish ; where all the parish almost was, Sir Andrew Rickard and others ; and of our house, J. Minnes, W. Batten, W. Pen, and myself ; and Mr. Mills did sit

uppermost at the table. Here we were informed that the report of our Embassadors being ill received in their way to Bredah is not true, but that they are received with very great civility, which I am glad to hear. But that that did vex me was that among all us there should come in Mr. Carcasse to be a guest for his money (5*s.* a piece) as well as any of us. So we sat down, and to dinner. Among other things Sir John Fredericke ¹ and Sir R. Ford did talk of Paul's School, which, they tell me, must be taken away ; ² and then I fear it will be long before another place, as they say is promised, is found ; but they do say that the honour of their company ³ is concerned in the doing of it, and that it is a thing that they are obliged to do. To my Lord Treasurer's, where I find the porter crying, and suspected it was that my Lord is dead ; and, poor Lord ! we did find that he was dead just now ; and the crying of the fellow did so trouble me, that considering I was not likely to trouble him any more, nor have occasion to give any more, I did give him 3*s.* ; but it may be, poor man, he hath lost a considerable hope by the death of his Lord, whose house will be no more frequented. There is a good man gone : and I pray God that the Treasury may not be worse managed by the hand or hands it shall

¹ Lord Mayor of London, 1662, and President of Christ's Hospital. His eldest son, John, was created a Baronet, 1723.

² St. Paul's School still occupies the same site as in Pepys's time.

³ The Mercers' Company, under whose superintendence St. Paul's School was placed by Dean Colet, the Founder,

now be put into ; though, for certain, the slowness, though he was of great integrity, of this man, and remissness, have gone as far to undo the nation, as anything else that hath happened ; and yet, if I knew all the difficulties that he hath lain under, and his instrument Sir Philip Warwick, I might be brought to another mind. It is remarkable that this afternoon Mr. Moore came to me, and there, among other things, did tell me how Mr. Moyer,¹ the merchant, having procured an order from the King and Duke of York and Council, with the consent of my Lord Chancellor, and by assistance of Lord Arlington, for the releasing out of prison his brother, Samuel Moyer, who was a great man in the late times in Haberdashers'-hall, and was engaged under hand and seal to give the man that obtained it so much in behalf of my Lord Chancellor ; but it seems my Lady Duchess of Albemarle had before undertaken it for so much money, but hath not done it. The Duke of Albemarle did the next day send for this Moyer, to tell him, that notwithstanding this order of the King and Council's being passed for release of his brother, yet, if he did not consider the pains of some friends of his, he would stop that order. This Moyer being an honest, bold man, told him that he was engaged to the hand that had done the thing

¹ Lawrence Moyer, of Low Leyton, in Essex, whose son, of the same name, was afterwards Sir Samuel Moyer, Bart., and High Sheriff of Essex, in 1698. He had also been one of the Council of State. His widow, Rebecca, daughter of Alderman Sir William Joliffe, founded the well-known Lady Moyer's Lectures.

to give him a reward ; and more he could not give, nor could own any kindness done by his Grace's interest ; and so parted. The next day Sir Edward Savage did take the said Moyer in tax about it, giving ill words of this Moyer and his brother ; which he not being able to bear, told him he would give to the person that had engaged him what he promised, and not any thing to any body else ; and that both he and his brother were as honest men as himself, or any man else ; and so sent him going, and bid him do his worst. It is one of the most extraordinary cases that ever I saw or understood ; but it is true.

17th. To the office, where all the morning upon some accounts of Mr. Gauden's, and at noon to the 3 Tuns to dinner, where very merry and my Lord Brouncker in appearance as good friends as ever, though I know he has a hatred to me in heart. After dinner to my house, and there comes the flageolet master, who having had a bad bargain of teaching my wife by the year, she not practising so much as she should do, I did think that the man did deserve some more consideration, and so will give him an opportunity of 20s. a month more, and he shall teach me, and this afternoon I begin, and I think it will be a few shillings well spent. Then to Sir R. Viners with 600 pieces of gold to turn into silver, for the enabling me to answer Sir G. Carteret's 3,000*l.* ; which he now draws all out of my hand towards the paying for a purchase he hath made for his son and my Lady

Jemimah, in Northamptonshire,¹ of Sir Samuel Luke.² in a good place; a good house, and near all her friends; which is a very happy thing.

18th. After dinner to the office, and then to walk an hour in the garden talking with my wife, whose growth in musique do begin to please me mightily, and by and by home and there find our Luce drunk, and when her mistress told her of it would be gone, and so put up some of her things and did go away of her owne accord, nobody pressing her to it, and the truth is, though she be the dirtiest, homeliest servant that ever I kept, yet I was sorry to have her go, partly through my love to my servants, and partly because she was a very drudging, working wench, only she would be drunk.

19th (Lord's day). To church, where my old acquaintance, that dull fellow, Meriton, made a good sermon, and hath a strange knack of a grave, serious delivery, which is very agreeable. Great talk of the good end that my Lord Treasurer made; closing his owne eyes and setting his mouth, and bidding adieu with the greatest content and freedom in the world; and is said to die with the cleanest hands that ever

¹ An error for Bedfordshire. The place was Hawnes, which belonged to the Lukes of Cople, who, about 1654, had sold it to Sir Humphrey Winch, from whom, and not directly from Sir Samuel Luke, Sir George Carteret purchased it in 1667. The son by this marriage was created Lord Carteret, of Hawnes, in 1681.

² Sir Samuel Luke, of Cople, in Bedfordshire, which county he represented in the Long Parliament. He was knighted in 1624, and has been generally considered as the original Hudibras of Butler.

any Lord Treasurer did. Mr. Howe to see us ; and, among other things, told us how the Barristers and Students of Gray's Inne rose in rebellion against the Benchers the other day, who outlawed them, and a great deal of do ; but now they are at peace again.

20th. Among other news, I hear that the Commissioners for the Treasury were named by the King yesterday ; but who they are nobody could tell : but the persons are the Lord Chancellor, the two Secretaries, Lord Ashly, and others say Sir W. Coventry and Sir John Duncomb, but all conclude the Duke of Albemarle ; but reports do differ. It being a broken day, did walk abroad, first through the Minorys, the first time I have been over the Hill to the postern-gate, and seen the place, since the houses were pulled down about that side of the Tower, since the fire. I find it everywhere doubted whether we shall have a peace or no, and the captain of one of our ships that went with the Embassadors do say, that the seamen of Holland in his hearing did defy us, and called us English dogs, and cried out against peace, and that the great people there do oppose peace, though he says the common people do wish it.

21st. To Lincolne's Inne Fields, and there viewed several coach-houses. Thence home ; but, Lord ! how it went against my heart to go away from the very door of the Duke's play-house, and my Lady Castlemaine's coach, and many great coaches there, to see "The Siege of Rhodes." I was very near making a

forfeit, but I did command myself. Mrs. Turner and I sat up, talking alone of our neighbours. As to my Lord Brouncker, she says how Mrs. Griffin, our house-keeper's wife, hath it from his maid, that comes to her house often, that they are very poor; that the other day Mrs. Williams was fain to send a jewell to pawn; that my Lord hath put the King to infinite charge since his coming thither, and hath had of Foly, the ironmonger, 50*l.* worth in locks and keys for his house, having some of 4*l.* and 5*l.* a lock, such as is in ladies' closets; that he do not keep Mrs. Williams now for love, but need, he having another mistress that he keeps in Covent Garden. Then we fell to talk of Sir W. Pen, and his family and rise. She [Mrs. Turner] says that he was a pityfull [fellow] when she first knew them; that his lady was one of the sourest, dirty women, that ever she saw; that they took two chambers, one over another, for themselves and child, in Tower Hill; that for many years together they eat more meals at her house than at their own; did call brothers and sisters the husbands and wives; that her husband was godfather to one, and she god-mother to another, this Margaret, of their children, by the same token that she was fain to write with her own hand a letter to Captain Twiddy, to stand for a god-father for her; that she brought my Lady, who then was a dirty slattern, with her stockings hanging about her heels, so that afterwards the people of the whole Hill did say that Mrs. Turner had made Mrs. Pen a gentlewoman, first to the knowledge of my Lady

Vane,¹ Sir Henry's lady, and him to the knowledge of most of the great people that then he sought to, and that in short his rise hath been his giving of large bribes, wherein, and she agrees with my opinion and knowledge before therein, he is very profuse. This made him General; this got him out of the Tower when he was in; and hath brought him into what he is now, since the King's coming in: that long ago, indeed, he would drink the King's health privately with Mr. Turner; but that when he saw it fit to turn Round-head, and was offered by Mr. Turner to drink the King's health, he answered "No;" he was changed, and now he that would make him drink the King's health, or any health but the Protector's and the State's, or to that purpose, he would be the first man should sheath his sword in his guts. That at the King's coming in, he did send for her husband, and told him what a great man Sir W. Coventry was like to be, and that he having all the records in his hands of the Navy, if he would transcribe what was of most present use of the practice of the Navy, and give them him to give Sir W. Coventry from him, it would undoubtedly do his business of getting him a principal officer's place; that her husband was at 5*l.* charge to get these presently writ; that Sir W. Pen did give them Sir W. Coventry as from himself, which did set him up with W. Coventry, and made him what he is, and never owned any thing of Mr. Turner in them;

¹ Lady Vane was Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Bart., of Ashby, Lincolnshire.

by which he left him in the lurch, though he did promise the Duke of Albemarle to do all that was possible, and made no question of Mr. Turner's being what he desired ; and when afterwards, too, did propose to him the getting of the Purveyor's place for him, he did tell Mr. Turner it was necessary to present Sir W. Coventry 100 pieces, which he did, and W. Coventry took 80 of them : so that he was W. Coventry's mere broker, as Sir W. Batten and my Lady did once tell my Lady Duchess of Albemarle, in the case of Mr. Falconer, whom W. Pen made to give W. Coventry 200*l.* for his place of Clerk of the Rope Yard of Woolwich, and to settle 80*l.* a year upon his daughter Pegg, after the death of his wife, and a gold watch presently to his wife. That my Lady and Pegg have themselves owned to her that Sir W. Coventry and Sir W. Pen had private marks to write to one another by, that when they in appearance writ a fair letter in behalf of anybody, that they had a little mark to show they meant it only in show : this, these silly people did confess themselves of him. She says that their son, Mr. William Pen, did tell her that his father did observe the commanders did make their applications to me, but they should know that his father should be chief of the office, and that she hath observed that Sir W. Pen never had a kindness to her son, since Sir W. Pen told her son that he had applied himself to me. That his rise hath been by her and her husband's means, and that it is a most inconceivable thing how this man can have the face to use her

and her family with the neglect that he do them. That he was in the last war a most devilish plunderer, and that got him his estate, which he hath in Ireland, and nothing else. That her husband's not being forward to make him a bill for Rear Admiral's pay and Generall's pay both at the same time after he was first made Generall did first give him occasion of keeping a distance from him, since which they have never been great friends, Pen having by degrees been continually growing higher and higher, till now that he do wholly slight them and use them only as servants. Upon the whole, she told me stories enough to confirm me that he is the most false fellow that ever was born of woman, and that so she thinks and knows him to be.

22nd. Up, and by water to White Hall to Sir G. Carteret, who tells me now for certain how the Commission for the Treasury is disposed of: viz., to Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashly, Sir W. Coventry, Sir John Duncomb,¹ and Sir Thomas Clifford: at which, he

¹ Burnet says of Sir John Duncomb, that "he was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies. He was an able Parliament-man, but could not go into all the designs of the Court; for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country." ("Own Time," vol. i. p. 437, ed. 1833.) Duncomb's removal from the Ordnance to the Treasury is not overlooked by Marvel ("Works," vol. iii. p. 391): —

"*Southampton* dead, much of the treasure's care
And place in council fell to *Duncomb's* share.
All men admired, he to that pitch could fly,
Powder ne'er blew man up so soon, so high;
But, sure his late good husbandry in petre [saltpetre],
Showed him to manage the Exchequer meeter;
And who the forts would not vouchsafe a corn,
To lavish the King's money more would scorn,

says, all the whole Court is disturbed : it having been once concluded otherwise into the other hands formerly mentioned in yesterday's notes, but all of a sudden the King's choice was changed, and these are to be the men ; the first of which is only for a puppet to give honour to the rest. He do presage that these men will make it their business to find faults in the management of the late Lord Treasurer, and in discouraging the bankers : but I am, whatever I in compliance do say to him, of another mind, and my heart is very glad of it, for I do expect they will do much good, and that it is the happiest thing that hath appeared to me for the good of the nation since the King came in. Thence to St. James's, and up to the Duke of York ; and there in his chamber Sir W. Coventry did of himself take notice of this business of the Treasury, wherein he is in the Commission, and desired that I would be thinking of any thing fit for him to be acquainted with for the lessening of charge and bettering of our credit, and what our expence hath been since the King's coming home, which he believes will be one of the first things they shall enquire into : which I promised him, and from time to time, which he desires, will give him an account of what I can think of worthy his knowledge. I am

Who hath no chimneys to give all is best;
And ablest speaker who of law hath least,
Who less estate for Treasurer most fit,
And for a Chancellor he that has least wit.
But the true cause was, that in's brother *May*,
Th' exchequer might the privy-purse obey."

mighty glad of this opportunity of professing my joy to him in what choice the King hath made, and the hopes I have that it will save the kingdom from perishing : and how it do encourage me to take pains again, after my having through despair neglected it ! which he told me of himself that it was so with him, that he had given himself up to more ease than ever he expected, and that his opinion of matters was so bad, that there was no publick employment in the kingdom should have been accepted by him but this which the King hath now given him ; and therein he is glad, in hopes of the service he may do therein ; and in my conscience he will. So into the Duke of York's closet ; and there, among other things, Sir W. Coventry did take notice of what he told me the other day, about a report of Commissioner Pett's dealing for timber in the Navy, and selling it to us in other names ; and, besides his own proof, did produce a paper I had given him this morning about it, in the case of Widow Murford and Morecocke, which was so handled, that the Duke of York grew very angry, and commanded us presently to fall into the examination of it, saying that he would not trust a man for his sake that lifts up the whites of his eyes. And it was declared that if he be found to have done so, he should be reckoned unfit to serve the Navy ; and I do believe he will be turned out ; and it was, methought, a worthy saying of Sir W. Coventry to the Duke of York, " Sir," says he, " I do not make this complaint out of any disrespect to Commissioner Pett, but because I do

love to do these things fairly and openly." Thence I to Westminster Hall to the Chequer Chamber to hear our cause of the Lindeboome prize there before the Lords of Appeal, where was Lord Ashly, Arlington, Barkely, and Sir G. Carteret, but the latter three signified nothing, the former only either minding or understanding what was said. Here was good pleading of Sir Walter Walker's and worth hearing, but little done in our business. So the Change, where most of the newes is that the Swedes are likely to fall out with the Dutch, which we wish, but how true I know not. Here I met my uncle Wight, the second day he has been abroad, having been sick these two months even to death, but having never sent to me even in the greatest of his danger. I do think my Aunt had no mind I should come, and so I never went to see him, but neither he took notice of it to me, nor I made any excuse for it to him, but past two or three, How do you's, and so parted and so home, and by and by comes my poor father, much better than I expected. I am mighty glad to see him come well to town. To the King's house, where I did give 18*l.*, and saw the two last acts of "The Goblins,"¹ a play I could not make any thing of by these two acts, but here Knipp spied me out of the tiring-room, and came to the pit door, and I out to her, and kissed her, she only coming to see me, being in a country-dress, she and others having, it seemed, had a country-dance in

¹ A comedy, by Sir John Suckling.

the play, but she no other part: so we parted, and I into the pit again till it was done. The house full, but I had no mind to be seen. To Sir W. Batten's, and there got some more part of my dividend of the prize-money. So home and to supper and my wife to her flageolet, wherein she did take out a tune so prettily of herself, that I was infinitely pleased beyond whatever I expected from her. This day coming from Westminster with W. Batten, we saw at White Hall stairs a fisher-boat, with a sturgeon that he had newly caught in the River; which I saw, but it was but a little one; but big enough to prevent my mistake of that for a colt, if ever I become Mayor of Huntingdon.¹

23rd. Home, and with my father dined, and, poor man! he hath put off his travelling-clothes to-day, and is mighty spruce, and I love to see him cheerful. Sir John Duncomb is sworn yesterday a Privy-councillor. This day I hear also that last night the Duke of Kendall, second son of the Duke of York, did die; and that the other, Duke of Cambridge, continues very ill still.

24th. My wife not well, but yet engaged by invitation to go with Sir W. Pen. I got her to go with him

¹ During a very high flood in the meadows between Huntingdon and Godmanchester, something was seen floating, which the Godmanchester people thought was a black *pig*, and the Huntingdon folk declared it was a *sturgeon*; when rescued from the waters, it proved to be a *young donkey*. This mistake led to the one party being styled "Godmanchester black pigs," and the other "Huntingdon Sturgeons," terms not altogether forgotten at this day. Pepys's *colt* must be taken to be the *colt of an ass*.

by coach to Islington to the old house, where his lady and Madam Lowther, with her exceeding fine coach and mean horses, and her mother-in-law¹ did meet us, and two of Mr. Lowther's brothers,² and here dined upon nothing but pigeon-pyes, which was such a thing for him to invite all the company to, that I was ashamed. But after dinner was all our sport, when there come in a juggler, who, indeed, did shew us so good tricks as I have never seen in my life, I think, of legerdemaine, and such as my wife hath since seriously said that she would not believe but that he did them by the help of the devil. Here, after a bad dinner, and but ordinary company, saving that I discern good parts in one of the sons, who, methought, did take me up very prettily in one or two things that I said, we broke up, and my wife and I and Sir W. Pen to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Mayden Queene,"³ which, though I have often seen, yet pleases me infinitely, it being impossible, I think, ever to have the Queen's part, which is very good and passionate, and Florimel's part, which is the most comical that ever was made for woman, ever done better than they two are by young Marshall and Nelly.

¹ Mary, widow of Morgan Davis, Esq., the third wife of Alderman Robert Lowther, was the lady here referred to.

² According to Collins, Anthony Lowther had but one brother, John, a merchant at Dantzic, and one of the Commissioners of Revenue in Ireland. See Collins, vol. v. p. 702. Anthony Lowther, who married Margaret Penn, was the son of Elizabeth, daughter of William Holcroft, Esq., *second* wife of Robert Lowther, of Marske, co. York, and Alderman of London, who died 1655.

³ "Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen," a tragi-comedy, by J. Dryden.

25th. At noon came Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and dined with me. About 4 o'clock comes Mrs. Pierce to see my wife, and I into them, and there find Pierce very fine, and in her own hair, which do become her, and so says my wife, ten times better than lighter hair, her complexion being mighty good.

26th (Lord's day). My wife and I to church, where several strangers of good condition came to our pew. After dinner I by water alone to Westminster to the parish church,¹ and there did entertain myself with my perspective glass up and down the church, by which I had the great pleasure of seeing and gazing at a great many very fine women; and what with that, and sleeping, I passed away the time till sermon was done. I away to my boat, and, up with it as far as Barne Elmes, reading of Mr. Evelyn's late new book against Solitude,² in which I do not find much excess of good matter, though it be pretty for a bye discourse. I walked the length of the Elmes, and with great pleasure saw some gallant ladies and people come with their bottles, and basket, and chairs, and form, to sup under the trees, by the waterside, which was mighty pleasant. I to boat again and to my book, and having done that I took another book, Mr. Boyle's of Colours, and there read, where I laughed, finding many fine things worthy observation, and so home,

¹ St. Margaret's.

² "15th February, 1666-7. My little book in answer to Sir George Mackenzie was now published, entitled 'Public Employment and an Active Life, with its Appendages, preferred to Solitude.'" — EVELYN'S *Diary*.

where I find my poor father newly come out of an unexpected fit of his pain. But the poor man's patience under it and his good heart and humour as soon as he was out of it did so work upon me that my heart was sad to think of his condition, but do hope that a way will be found to relieve him. By and by to supper, all our discourse about Brampton, and my intentions to build there if I could be free of my engagement to my Uncle Thomas and his son, that they may not have what I have built, against my will, in case of me and my brothers being without heirs male ; which is the true reason why I am against laying out money upon that place, together with my fear of some inconvenience by being so near Hinchinbroke ; being obliged to be a servant to that family, and subject to what expence they shall cost me ; and to have all that I shall buy, or do, esteemed as got by the death of my uncle, when indeed what I have from him is not worth naming.

27th. There came Richardson, the bookbinder, with one of Ogilby's¹ Bibles in quires for me to see and buy, it being Mr. Cade's, my stationer's ; but it is like to be so big that I shall not use it. The new Commissioners of the Treasury have chosen Sir G. Downing for their Secretary : and I think in my conscience they have done a great thing in it ; for he is active and a man of business, and values himself upon having of things do well under his hand ; so that I

¹ See 19th February, 1665-6.

am mightily pleased in their choice. Abroad, and stopped at the Bear-garden stairs,¹ there to see a prize fought. But the house so full there was no getting in there, so forced to go through an alehouse into the pit, where the bears are baited ; and upon a stool did see them fight, which they did very furiously, a butcher and a waterman. The former had the better all along, till by and by the latter dropped his sword out of his hand, and the butcher, whether not seeing his sword dropped I know not, but did give him a cut over the wrist, so as he was disabled to fight any longer. But, Lord ! to see how in a minute the whole stage was full of watermen to revenge the foul play, and the butchers to defend their fellow, though most blamed him ; and there they all fell to it to knocking down and cutting many on each side. It was pleasant to see, but that I stood in the pit, and feared that in the tumult I might get some hurt. At last the rabble broke up, and so I away. The Duke of Cambridge very ill still.

28th. Up, and by coach to St. James's, where I find Sir W. Coventry desirous to have spoke with me. It was to read over a draught of a letter which he hath made for his brother Commissioners and him to sign to us, demanding an account of the whole business of the Navy accounts ; and I perceive, by the way he goes about it, that they will do admirable things. He tells me that they have chosen Sir G.

¹ At Bankside.

Downing their Secretary, who will be as fit a man as any in the world : and he said, by the by, speaking of the bankers being fearful of Sir G. Downing's being Secretary, he being their enemy, that they did not intend to be ruled by their Secretary, but do the business themselves. My heart is glad to see so great hopes of good to the nation as will be by these men ; and it do me good to see Sir W. Coventry so cheerfull as he now is on the same score. My wife away down with Jane and W. Hewer to Woolwich, in order to a little ayre and to lie there to-night, and so to gather May-dew¹ to-morrow morning, which Mrs. Turner hath taught her is the only thing in the world to wash her face with ; and I am contented with it. I by water to Fox-hall, and there walked in Spring Garden. A great deal of company, and the weather and garden pleasant : and it is very pleasant and cheap going thither, for a man may go to spend what he will, or nothing, all is one. But to hear the nightingale and other birds, and here fiddles, and there a harp, and here a Jew's trump, and here laughing, and there fine people walking, is mighty divertising. Among others, there were two pretty women alone, that walked a great while, which being discovered by some idle

¹ If we are to credit the following paragraph, extracted from the "Morning Post" of 2nd May, 1791, the virtues of May dew were then still held in some estimation; for it records that "on the day preceding, according to annual and superstitious custom, a number of persons went into the fields, and bathed their faces with the dew on the grass, under the idea that it would render them beautiful." — HONE's *Every Day Book*, vol. ii. p. 611. Aubrey speaks of May dew as "a great dissolvent." — *Miscellanies*, p. 183.

gentlemen, they would needs take them up ; but to see the poor ladies how they were put to it to run from them, and they after them, and sometimes the ladies put themselves along with other company, then the other drew back ; at last, the last did get off out of the house, and took boat and away. I was troubled to see them abused so ; and could have found in my heart, as little desire of fighting as I have, to have protected the ladies. So home. My father gone to bed, and wife abroad at Woolwich, I to Sir W. Pen, where he and his Lady and Pegg and pretty Mrs. Lowther her sister-in-law at supper, where I sat and talked, and Sir W. Pen, half drunk, did talk like a fool and vex his wife, that I was half pleased and half vexed to see so much folly and rudeness from him, and so late home to bed.

29th. Our parson Mills having the offer of another benefice¹ by Sir Robert Brookes, who was his pupil, he by my Lord Barkeley [of Stratton] is made one of the Duke's Chaplains, which qualifies him for two livings. But to see how slightly such things are done, the Duke of York only taking my Lord Barkeley's word upon saying, that we the officers of the Navy do say that he is a good man and minister of our parish, and the Duke of York admits him to kiss his hand, but speaks not one word to him ; but so a warrant will be drawn from the Duke of York to qualify him, and there's an end of it. So we into the

¹ The rectory of Wanstead, in Essex, to which he was presented.

Duke's closett, where little to do, but complaint for want of money and a motion of Sir W. Coventry's that we should all now bethink ourselves of lessening charge to the King, which he said was the only way he saw likely to put the King out of debt, and this puts me upon thinking to offer something presently myself to prevent its being done in a worse manner without me relating to the Victualling business, which, as I may order it, I think may be done and save myself something. My wife comes home from Woolwich, but did not dine with me, going to dress herself against night, to go to Mrs. Pierce's to be merry, where we are to have Knipp and Harris and other good people. I at my accounts. Anon comes down my wife, dressed in her second mourning, with her black moyre waistcoat, and short petticoat, laced with silver lace so basely that I could not endure to see her, and with laced lining, which is too soon, so that I was horrid angry, and went out of doors to the office and there staid, and would not go to our intended meeting, which vexed me to the blood, and my wife sent twice or thrice to me, to direct her any way to dress her, but to put on her cloth gown, which she would not venture, which made me mad: and so in the evening to my chamber, vexed, and to my accounts, which I ended to my great content, and did make amends for the loss of our mirth this night, by getting this done.

30th. After dinner I walked to Arundell House, the way very dusty, the day of meeting of the Society

being changed from Wednesday to Thursday, which I knew not before, because the Wednesday is a Council-day, and several of the Council are of the Society, and would come but for their attending the King at Council; where I find much company, indeed very much company, in expectation of the Duchess of Newcastle,¹ who had desired to be invited to the Society; and was, after much debate, *pro* and *con.*, it seems many being against it; and we do believe the town will be full of ballads of it. Anon comes the Duchess with her women attending her; among others, the Ferabosco,² of so much talk is that her lady would bid her show her face and kill the gallants. She is indeed black, and hath good black little eyes, but otherwise but a very ordinary woman I do think, but they say sings well. The Duchess hath been a good, comely woman; but her dress so antick, and her deportment so ordinary, that I do not like her at all, nor did I hear her say any thing that was worth hearing, but that she was full of admiration, all admiration. Several fine experiments were shown her of colours, loadstones, microscopes, and of liquors: among others, of one that did, while she was there, turn a piece of roasted mutton into pure blood, which was very rare. Here was Mrs. Moore of Cambridge, whom I had not seen before, and I was glad to see

¹ Evelyn also gives an account of this visit.

² Was she of the family of Alfonso Ferrabosco, who, in 1609, published a book of "Ayres," containing a sonnet addressed to the author by Ben Jonson?

her ; as also a very pretty black boy that run up and down the room, somebody's child in Arundell House. After they had shown her many experiments, and she cried still she was full of admiration, she departed, being led out and in by several Lords that were there ; among others Lord George Barkeley and Earl of Carlisle, and a very pretty young man, the Duke of Somerset.¹

31st. At the Treasury chamber. Here I saw Duncomb look as big, and take as much state on him, as if he had been born a lord. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that he is told this day by Secretary Morris that he believes we are, and shall be, only fooled by the French ; and that the Dutch are very high and insolent, and do look upon us as come over only to beg a peace ; which troubles me very much, and I do fear it is true. Thence to Sir G. Carteret at his lodgings ; who, I perceive, is mightily displeased with these new Treasurers ; and he hath reason, for it will eclipse him ; and he tells me that my Lord Ashly says they understand nothing ; and he says he believes the King do not intend they shall sit long. But I believe no such thing, but that the King will find such benefit by them as he will desire to have them continue, as we see he hath done, in the late new Act that was so much decried about the King ; but yet the King hath since permitted it, and found good by it. He says, and I believe, that a

¹ Francis Seymour, fifth Duke of Somerset, murdered in Italy, 1678.

great many persons at Court are angry at the rise of this Duncomb, whose father, he tells me, was a long-Parliament-man, and a great Committee-man; and this fellow used to carry his papers to Committees after him: he was a kind of an attorney: but for all this, I believe this man will be a great man, in spite of all. In the evening home, and there, to my unexpected satisfaction, did get my intricate accounts of interest, which have been of late much perplexed by mixing of some moneys of Sir G. Carteret's with mine, evened, and set right: and so late to supper, and with great quiet to bed; finding by the balance of my account that I am creditor 6,900*l.*, for which the Lord of Heaven be praised!

June 1st. Up; and there comes to me Mr. Commander, whom I employ about hiring of some ground behind the office, for the building of me a stable and coach-house: for I do find it necessary for me, both in respect of honour and the profit of it also, my expense in hackney-coaches being now so great, to keep a coach, and therefore will do it. Having given him some instructions about it, I to the office; where we have news that our peace with Spain, as to trade, is wholly concluded, and we are to furnish him with some men for Flanders against the French. How that will agree with the French, I know not; but they say that he also hath liberty to get what men he pleases out of England. But for the Spaniard, I hear that my Lord Castlehaven is raising a regiment of 4,000 men which he is to command there; and sev-

eral young gentlemen are going over in commands with him: and they say the Duke of Monmouth is going over only as a traveller, not to engage on either side, but only to see the campagne, which will be becoming him much more than to live wenching and roguing, as he now do. After dinner to the office, where I fell to business and did very much with infinite joy to myself as it always is to me when I have dispatched much business, and therefore it troubles me to see how hard it is for me to settle to it sometimes when my mind is upon pleasure.

2nd (Lord's day). To my chamber, and fell roundly to business, and did to my satisfaction by dinner go far in the drawing up a state of my accounts of Tangier for the new Lords Commissioners. To my business again all the afternoon close, and wrote it fair with a letter to the Lords to accompany my accounts, which I think will be so much satisfaction and so soon done (their order for my doing it being dated but May 30) as they will not find from any hand else. Being weary and almost blind with writing and reading so much to-day, I took boat, and up the river all alone as high as Putney almost, and then back again, all the way reading, and finishing Mr. Boyle's book of Colours,¹ which is so chymical, that I can understand but little of it, but enough to see that he is a most excellent man.

3rd. With Sir W. Coventry a great while talking

¹ "Experiments on Colours," published in 1663.

about several businesses, but it is strange to see that being conscious of our doing little at this day, nor for some time past in our office for want of money, I do hang my head to him, and cannot be so free with him as I used to be, though of all men, I think, I have the least cause to be so, having taken so much more pains, while I could do anything, than the rest of my fellows. Met Mr. Mills, our parson, whom I went back with to bring him to Sir W. Coventry, to give him the form of a qualification for the Duke of York to sign to, to enable him to have two livings : which was a service I did, but much against my will, for a lazy, fat priest. Sir William Doyly did lay a wager with me, the Treasurership would be in one hand, notwithstanding this present Commission, before Christmas : on which we did lay a poll of ling, a brace of carps, and a pottle of wine ; and Sir W. Pen and Mr. Scowen to be at the eating of them. Thence down by water to Deptford, it being Trinity Monday, when the Master is chosen, and there, finding them all at church, and thinking they dined, as usual, at Stepny, I turned back, having a good book in my hand, the *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, wrote by his own servant,¹ and to Ratcliffe ; and so walked to Stepny, and spent my time in the churchyard, looking over the grave-stones, expecting when the company would come by. Finding no company

¹ George Cavendish, gentleman-usher to the Cardinal. It was first published in 1641, and then with a view to do harm to Archbishop Laud. The best edition is that published in 1852, with notes by John Holmes, Esquire, of the British Museum

stirring, I sent to the house to see ; and, it seems, they dine not there, but at Deptford : so I back again to Deptford, and there find them just sat down. And so I down with them ; and we had a good dinner of plain meat, and good company at our table : among others, my good Mr. Evelyn, with whom, after dinner, I stepped aside, and talked upon the present posture of our affairs ; which is, that the Dutch are known to be abroad with eighty sail of ships of war, and twenty fire-ships ; and the French come into the Channell with twenty sail of men-of-war, and five fire-ships, while we have not a ship at sea to do them any hurt with ; but are calling in all we can, while our Embassadors are treating at Bredah ; and the Dutch look upon them as come to beg peace, and use them accordingly ; and all this through the negligence of our Prince, who hath power, if he would, to master all these with the money and men that he hath had the command of, and may now have, if he would mind his business. But, for aught we see, the Kingdom is likely to be lost, as well as the reputation of it is, for ever ; notwithstanding so much reputation got and preserved by a rebell that went before him. In the Treasury-chamber an hour or two, where we saw the Country Receivers and Accountants come to attend ; and one of them, a brisk young fellow, with his hat cocked like a fool behind, as the present fashion among the blades is,¹ committed to the Serjeant. By and by, I, upon

¹ It was called the Monmouth cock, which, according to "The Spectator," No. 129, was still worn in the west of England by country squires in 1711 : —

desire, was called in, and delivered in my Report of my Accounts. Present, Lord Ashly, Clifford, and Duncomb, who, being busy, did not read it ; but committed it to Sir George Downing, and so I was dismissed ; but, Lord ! to see how Duncomb do take upon him is an eyesore, though I think he deserves great honour, but only the suddenness of his rise, and his pride. But I do like the way of these lords, that they admit nobody to use many words, nor do they spend many words themselves, but in great state do hear what they see necessary, and say little themselves, but bid withdraw. Thence Creed and I by water up to Fox Hall, and over against it stopped, thinking to see some Cock-fighting ; but it was just being done, and, therefore, back again to Spring Garden, and then to walk up and down the garden, reflecting upon the bad management of things now, compared with what it was in the late rebellious times, when men, some for fear, and some for religion, minded their business, which none now do, by being void of both.

4th. Mr. Commander tells me, after all, that I cannot have a lease of the ground for my coach-house and stable, till a suit in law be ended. I am a little sorry that I cannot presently have it, because I am pretty full in my mind of keeping a coach ; but yet, when I think of it again, the Dutch and French both

“ During our progress through the most western parts of the kingdom, we fancied ourselves in King Charles the Second's reign, the people having made little variations in their dress since that time. The smartest of the country squires *appear still in the Monmouth cock.*”

at sea, and we poor, and still out of order, I know not yet what turns there may be, and besides, I am in danger of parting with one of my places, which relates to the Victualling, that brings me by accident in 800*l.* a year, that is, 300*l.* from the King and 500*l.* from D. Gauden. Home in the evening, and there to sing and pipe with my wife, and that being done, she fell all of a sudden to discourse about her clothes and my humours in not suffering her to wear them as she pleases, and grew to high words between us, but I fell to read a book (Boyle's *Hydrostatics*) aloud in my chamber and let her talk, till she was tired and vexed that I would not hear her, and so became friends.

5th. To the Commissioners of the Treasury, and, after long waiting, I find them all sat; and, among the rest, Duncomb lolling, with his heels upon another chair, by that, that he sat upon, and had an answer good enough, and then to St. James's, where we all met at Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and dined and talked of our business, he being a most excellent man, and indeed, with all his business, has more of his employed upon the good of the service of the Navy, than all of us, that makes me ashamed of it. Here a very good and neat dinner, after the French manner. Captain Perriman brings us word how the *Happy Returne's* crew below in the *Hope*, ordered to carry the Portugal Ambassador to Holland, and the Ambassador, I think, on board, refuse to go till paid; and by their example two or three more ships are in a mutiny: which is a sad consideration, while so many

of the enemy's ships are at this day triumphing in the sea. Sir G. Carteret showed me a gentleman coming by in his coach, who hath been sent for up out of Lincolneshire, I think he says he is a justice of peace there, that the Council have laid by the heels here, and here lies in a messenger's hands, for saying that a man and his wife are but one person, and so ought to pay but 12*l.* for both to the Poll Bill ; by which others were led to do the like : and so here he lies prisoner.

6th. To the office where (which he hath not done a great while) Sir G. Carteret came to advise with us for the disposing of 10,000*l.*, which is the first sum the new Lords Treasurers have provided ; but, unless we have more, this will not enable us to cut off any of the growing charge which they seem to give it us for, and expected we should discharge several ships quite off with it. So home and with my father and wife to Sir W. Pen's to dinner, which they invited us to out of their respect to my father, as a stranger ; though I know them as false as the devil himself, and that it is only that they think it fit to oblige me ; wherein I am a happy man, that all my fellow-officers are desirous of my friendship. Here as merry as in so false a place, and where I must dissemble my hatred, I could be, and after dinner my father and wife to a play, and I to my office, and there busy till late at night. In the afternoon comes Mr. Pierce, who tells me that the Duke of Cambridge is yet living, but every minute expected to die.

7th. With Mr. Townsend, whom I sent for to come to me to discourse about my Lord Sandwich's business ; for whom I am in some pain, lest the Accounts of the Wardrobe may not be in so good order as may please the new Lords Treasurers, who are quick-sighted, and under obligations of recommending themselves to the King and the world, by their finding and mending of faults, and are, most of them, not the best friends to my Lord. This day I read a discourse newly come forth of the King of France, his pretence to Flanders, which is a very fine discourse, and the truth is, has so much of the Civil Law in it, that I am not a fit judge of it, but, as it appears to me, he has a good pretence to it by right of his Queene.

8th. Up, and to the office, where all the news this morning is, that the Dutch are come with a fleete of eighty sail to Harwich, and that guns were heard plain by Sir W. Rider's people at Bednall-greene, all yesterday even. Home, where our dinner a ham of French bacon, boiled with pigeons, an excellent dish. The news is confirmed that the Dutch are off Harwich, but had done nothing last night. The King hath sent down my Lord of Oxford to raise the countries there ; and all the Western barges are taken up to make a bridge over the River, about the Hope, for horse to cross the River, if there be occasion.

9th (Lord's day). I hear that the Duke of Cambridge, who was given over long since by the Doctors, is now likely to recover ; for which God be praised ! To Sir W. Coventry, and there talked with him a great

while ; and mighty glad I was of my good fortune to visit him, for it keeps in my acquaintance with him, and the world sees it, and reckons my interest accordingly. In comes my Lord Barkeley, who is going down to Harwich also to look after the militia there : and there is also the Duke of Monmouth, and with him a great many young Hectors, the Lord Chesterfield, my Lord Mandeville, and others : but to little purpose, I fear, but to debauch the country women thereabouts. My Lord Barkeley wanting some maps, and Sir W. Coventry recommending the six maps of England that are bound up for the pocket, I did offer to present my Lord with them, which he accepted : and so I will send them him. Took boat, and up, all alone, as high as Barne Elmes, and there took a turn ; and then to my boat again, and home, reading and making an end of the book I lately bought — a merry satyr, called “The Visions,” translated from the Spanish¹ by L’Estrange, wherein there are many very pretty things ; but the translation is, as to the rendering it into English expression, the best that ever I saw, it being impossible almost to conceive that it should be a translation. I find an order come for the getting some fire-ships presently to annoy the Dutch, who are in the King’s Channel, and expected up higher.

10th. Up ; and news brought us that the Dutch are come up as high as the Nore ; and more pressing orders for fire-ships. W. Batten, W. Pen, and I

¹ Of Francisco de Quevedo.

to St. James's; where the Duke of York gone this morning betimes, to send away some men down to Chatham. So we three to White Hall, and met Sir W. Coventry, who presses all that is possible for fire-ships. So we three to the office presently; and thither comes Sir Fretcheville Hollis,¹ who is to command them all in some exploits he is to do with them on the enemy in the River. So we all down to Deptford, and pitched upon ships and set men at work: but, Lord! to see how backwardly things move at this pinch, notwithstanding that, by the enemy's being now come up as high as almost the Hope, Sir J. Minnes, who was gone down to pay some ships there, hath sent up the money; and so we are possessed of money to do what we will with. Yet partly ourselves, being used to be idle and in despair, and partly people that have been used to be deceived by us as to money, won't believe us; and we know not, though we have it, how almost to promise it; and our wants such, and men out of the way, that it is an admirable thing to

¹ Grandson of Fretcheville Hollis, of Grimsby. His father, Gervase Hollis, the antiquary, most of whose collections came into the British Museum, was an officer in the King's service. Sir Fretcheville Hollis, embracing the naval profession, lost an arm in the sea-fight of 1665, and afterwards served as Rear-Admiral under Sir Robert Holmes, when they attacked the Smyrna fleet. He fell in the battle of Southwold Bay, 1672, on board the "Cambridge." Although Pepys speaks slightly of him, he was a man of high spirit and enterprise, and is thus eulogized by Dryden in his "*Annus Mirabilis*:"—

"Young Hollis on a Muse by Mars begot,
Born, Cæsar-like, to write and act great deeds,
Impatient to revenge his fatal shot,
His right hand doubly to his left succeeds."

consider how much the King suffers, and how necessary it is in a State to keep the King's service always in a good posture and credit. Down to Greenwich, where I find the stairs full of people, there being a great riding¹ there to-day for a man, the constable of the town, whose wife beat him. Here I was with much ado fain to press two watermen to make me a galley, and so to Woolwich to give order for the dispatch of a ship I have taken under my care to see dispatched, and down to Gravesend, where I find the Duke of Albemarle just come, with a great many idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries; and the bulwark² not able to have stood half an hour had they come up; but the Dutch are fallen down

¹ It was an ancient custom in Berkshire, when a man had beaten his wife, for the neighbours to parade in front of his house, for the purpose of serenading him with kettles, and horns and hand-bells, and every species of "rough music," by which name the ceremony was designated. Perhaps the *riding* mentioned by Pepys was a punishment somewhat similar. Malcolm ("Manners of London") quotes from the "Protestant Mercury," that a porter's lady, who resided near Strand Lane, beat her husband with so much violence and perseverance, that the poor man was compelled to leap out of the window to escape her fury. Exasperated at this virago, the neighbours made a "riding," *i.e.*, a pedestrian procession, headed by a drum, and accompanied by a chemise, displayed for a banner. The manual musician sounded the tune of "You round-headed cuckolds, come dig, come dig!" and nearly seventy coalheavers, carmen, and porters, adorned with large horns fastened to their heads, followed. The public seemed highly pleased with the nature of the punishment, and gave liberally to the vindicators of injured manhood. — Page 211, 4to. ed. 1811.

² That is, the block-house. There were formerly considerable fortifications at Gravesend: and about the year 1778 they were greatly extended, under the superintendence of Sir Thomas Hyde Page; a few years since, however, a great portion was dismantled, the ground was sold, and the "Terrace Pier," and other works *ejusdem generis* erected.

from the Hope and Shell-haven as low as Sheerness, and we do plainly at this time hear the guns play. Yet I do not find the Duke of Albemarle intends to go thither, but stays here to-night, and hath, though the Dutch are gone, ordered our frigates to be brought to a line between the two blockhouses ; which I took then to be a ridiculous thing. I find the townsmen had removed most of their goods out of the town, for fear of the Dutch coming up to them ; and from Sir John Griffen,¹ that last night there was not twelve men to be got in the town to defend it : which the master of the house tells me is not true, but that the men of the town did intend to stay, though they did indeed, and so had he, at the Ship, removed their goods. Thence went off to an Ostend man-of-war, just now come up, who met the Dutch fleete, who took three ships that he came convoying hither from him : says they are as low as the Nore, or thereabouts.

11th. Up and more letters still from Sir W. Coventry about more fire-ships and so Sir W. Batten and I to the office where Brouncker came to us, who is just now going to Chatham upon a desire of Commissioner Pett's, who is very fearful of the Dutch, and desires help for God and the King and kingdom's sake. So Brouncker goes down, and Sir J. Minnes also, from Gravesend. This morning Pett writes us word that Sheerness is lost last night, after two or three hours' dispute. The enemy hath possessed

¹ An error for Sir John Griffith, captain of the fort at Gravesend, who was knighted at Whitehall, 2nd January, 1665.

himself of that place ; which is very sad, and puts us into great fears of Chatham. After dinner, by W. Hewer's lucky advice, went to Mr. Fenn, and did get him to pay me above 400*l.* of my wages, and W. Hewer received it for me, and brought it home this night. Home, and there to our business, hiring some fire-ships, and receiving every hour almost letters from Sir W. Coventry, calling for more fire-ships ; and an order from Council to enable us to take any man's ships ; and Sir W. Coventry, in his letter to us, says he do not doubt but at this time, under an invasion, as he owns it to be, the King may, by law, take any man's goods. At this business late, and then home ; where a great deal of serious talk with my wife about the sad state we are in, and especially from the beating up of drums this night for the trainbands upon pain of death to appear in arms to-morrow morning with bullet and powder, and money to supply themselves with victuals for a fortnight : which, considering the soldiers drawn out to Chatham and elsewhere, looks as if they had a design to ruin the City and give it up to be undone ; which, I hear, makes the sober citizens to think very sadly of things.

12th. Up very betimes to our business at the office, there hiring of more fire-ships ; and at it close all the morning. At noon home, and Sir W. Pen dined with us. By and by, after dinner, my wife out by coach to see her mother ; and I in another, being afraid, at this busy time, to be seen with a woman in a coach, as if I were idle, towards The. Turner's ; but met Sir

W. Coventry's boy ; and there in his letter find that the Dutch had made no motion since their taking Sheerness ; and the Duke of Albemarle writes that all is safe as to the great ships against any assault, the boom and chaine being so fortified ; which put my heart into great joy. When I come to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, I find him abroad ; but his clerk, Powell, do tell me that ill newes is come to Court of the Dutch breaking the Chaine at Chatham ;¹ which struck me to the heart. And to White Hall to hear the truth of it ; and there, going up the Park-stairs, I

¹ The account of this national disgrace is very characteristic, in "Poems on State Affairs," vol. i. p. 48, in the "Advice to a Painter," ascribed to Sir John Denham: —

" ——— Painter ! let thine art describe a story,
 Shaming our warlike island's ancient glory:
 A scene which never on our seas appeared
 Since our first ships were on the ocean steered:
 Make the Dutch fleet, while we supinely sleep,
 Without opposers, masters of the deep:
 Make them securely the Thames-mouth invade,
 At once depriving us of that and trade;
 Draw thunder from their floating castles, sent
 Against our forts, weak as our government:
 Draw Woolwich, Deptford, London, and the Tower,
 Meanly abandoned to a foreign power.
 Yet turn their first attempt another way,
 And let their cannons upon Sheerness play;
 Which soon destroyed, their lofty vessells ride,
 Big with the hope of the approaching tide:
 Make them more help from our remissness find,
 Than from the tide, or from the eastern wind,
 Their canvass swelling with a prosperous gale,
 Swift as our fears make them to Chatham sail:
Through our weak chain their fireships break their way,
 And our great ships (unmanned) become their prey.

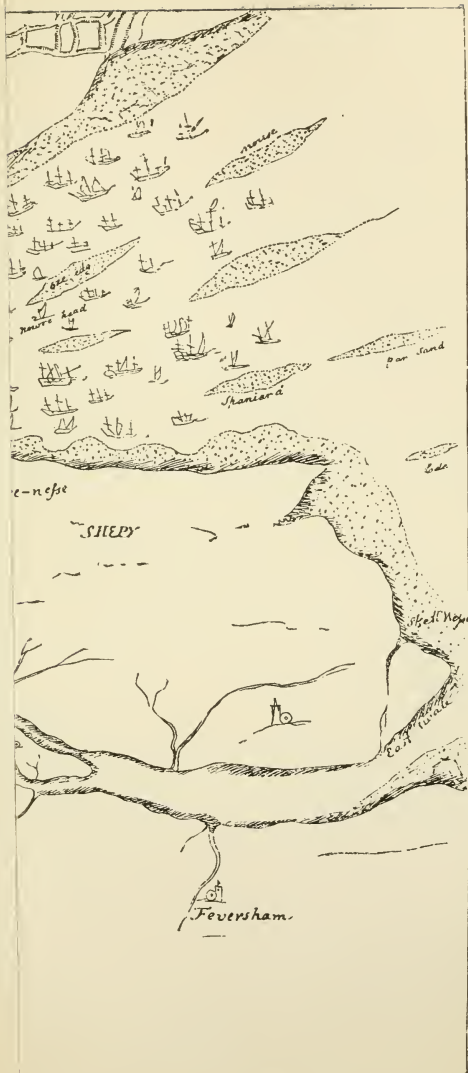
did hear some lacquies speaking of sad newes come to Court, saying, there is hardly anybody in the Court but do look as if he cried. I would not go into the house for fear of being seen, but slunk out and got into a coach. I met Roger Pepys, newly come out of the country. He and I talked aside a little, he offering a match for Pall, one Barnes, of whom we shall talk more the next time. His father married a Pepys; in discourse, he told me that his grandfather, my great grandfather, had 800*l.* per annum, in Queen Elizabeth's time, in the very town of Cottenham; and that we did certainly come out of Scotland with

Then draw the fruit of our ill-managed coast,
At once our honour and our safety lost:
Bury those bulwarks of our isle in smoke,
While their thick flames the neighbouring country choak,
The Charles escapes the raging element,
To be with triumph into Holland sent;
Where the glad people to the shore resort,
They see their terror now become their sport.
But, Painter! fill not up thy piece before
Thou paint'st confusion on our troubled shore:
Instruct then thy bold pencil to relate
The saddest marks of an ill-governed state.
Draw th' injured seamen deaf to all command,
While some with horror and amazement stand:
Others will know no enemy but they
Who have unjustly robbed them of their pay;
Boldly refusing to oppose a fire,
To kindle which our errors did conspire:
Some (though but few) persuaded to obey,
Useless, for want of ammunition, stay:
The forts designed to guard our ships of war,
Void both of powder and of bullets are:
And what past reigns in peace did ne'er omit
The present (whilst invaded) doth forget."

the Abbot of Crowland.¹ Home, where all our hearts do now ake ; for the newes is true, that the Dutch have broke the chaine and burned our ships, and particularly "The Royal Charles :"² other particulars I know not, but most sad to be sure. And, the truth is, I do fear so much that the whole kingdom is undone, that I do this night resolve to study with my father and wife what to do with the little that I have in money by me, for I give up all the rest that I have in the King's hands, for Tangier, for lost. So God help us ! and God knows what disorders we may fall into, and whether any violence on this office, or perhaps some severity on our persons, as being reckoned by the silly people, or perhaps may, by policy of State, be thought fit to be condemned by the King and Duke of York, and so put to trouble ; though, God knows ! I have, in my own person, done my full duty, I am sure. Home, and to bed with a heavy heart. The manner of my advising this night with my father was, I took him and my wife up to her chamber, and shut the door ; and there told them the sad state of the times how we are like to be all undone ; that I do fear some violence will be offered to this office, where all I have in the world is ; and resolved upon sending it

¹ The reading in the MS. is Crowland, and not Croyland. William Pepys was born at Dunbar, in Scotland, brought up by the Abbot of Crowland, in Huntingdonshire, placed by him at Cottenham, and made "bayliffe of all his lands in Cambridgeshire." He died in 1519, leaving issue three sons and three daughters. (M. B.)

² Vandervelde's drawings of the conflagration of the English fleet, made by him on the spot, are in the British Museum.



away—sometimes into the country—sometimes my father to lie in town, and have the gold with him at Sarah Giles's.

13th. No sooner up but hear the sad newes confirmed of the Royall Charles being taken by them, and now in fitting by them—which Pett should have carried up higher by our several orders, and deserves, therefore, to be hanged for not doing it—and burning several others; and that another fleete is come up into the Hope. Upon which newes the King and Duke of York have been below¹ since four o'clock in the morning, to command the sinking of ships at Barking-Creeke, and other places, to stop their coming up higher: which put me into such a fear, that I presently resolved of my father's and wife's going into the country; and, at two hours' warning, they did go by the coach this day, with about 1,300*l.* in gold in their night-bag. Pray God give them good passage, and good care to hide it when they come home! but my heart is full of fear. They gone, I continued in fright and fear what to do with the rest. W. Hewer hath been at the banker's, and hath got 500*l.* out of Backewell's hands of his own money; but they are so called upon that they will be all broke, hundreds coming to them for money: and their answer is, "It is payable at twenty days—when the days are out, we will pay you;" and those that are not so, they make tell over their money, and make their bags false, on purpose to

¹ Below London Bridge.

give cause to retell it, and so spend time. I cannot have my 200 pieces of gold again for silver, all being bought up last night that were to be had, and sold for 24 and 25*s.* a-piece.¹ So I must keep the silver by me, which sometimes I think to fling into the house of office, and then again know not how I shall come by it, if we be made to leave the office. Every minute some one or other calls for this or that order; and so I forced to be at the office, most of the day, about the fire-ships which are to be suddenly fitted out: and it's a most strange thing that we hear nothing from any of my brethren at Chatham: so that we are wholly in the dark, various being the reports of what is done there; insomuch that I sent Mr. Clapham express thither to see how matters go. I did, about noon, resolve to send Mr. Gibson away after my wife with another 1,000 pieces, under colour of an express to Sir Jeremy Smith; who is, as I hear, with some ships at Newcastle; which I did really send to him, and may, possibly, prove of good use to the King; for it is possible, in the hurry of business, they may not think of it at Court, and the charge of an express is not considerable to the King. The King and Duke of York up and down all the day here and there: some time on Tower Hill, where the City militia was; where the King did make a speech to them, that they should venture themselves no further than he would himself. I also sent, my mind being

¹ After the Bank Restriction Act, in 1797, guineas were sold for 27*s.*

in pain, Saunders after my wife and father, to overtake them at their night's lodgings, to see how matters go with them. In the evening, I sent for my cousin Sarah [Gyles] and her husband, who come; and I did deliver them my chest of writings about Brampton, and my brother Tom's papers, and my journalls, which I value much; and did send my two silver flaggons¹ to Kate Joyce's: that so, being scattered what I have, something might be saved. I have also made a girdle, by which, with some trouble, I do carry about me 300*l.* in gold about my body, that I may not be without something in case I should be surprised: for I think, in any nation but our's, people that appear, for we are not indeed so, so faulty as we, would have their throats cut. In the evening comes Mr. Pelling, and several others, to the office, and tell me that never were people so dejected as they are in the City all over at this day; and do talk most loudly, even treason; as, that we are bought and sold — that we are betrayed by the Papists; and others, about the King, cry out that the office of the Ordnance hath been so backward as no powder to have been at Chatham nor Upnor Castle till such a time, and the carriages all broken; that Legg is a Papist; that Upnor, the old good castle built by Queen Elizabeth, should be lately slighted; that the ships at Chatham should not be carried up higher. They look upon us as lost, and remove their families and rich goods in the City;

¹ See 28th July, 1664, and 11th January, 1667.

and do think verily that the French, being come down with his army to Dunkirke, it is to invade us, and that we shall be invaded. Mr. Clerke, the solicitor, comes to me about business, and tells me that he hears that the King hath chosen Mr. Pierpont¹ and Vaughan² of the West, Privy-councillors; that my Lord Chancellor was affronted in the Hall this day, by people telling him of his Dunkirke House;³ and that there are regiments ordered to be got together, whereof to be commanders my Lord Fairfax, Ingoldsby, Bethell, Norton, and Birch, and other Presbyterians; and that Dr. Bates will have liberty to preach. Now, whether this be true or not, I know not; but do think that nothing but this will unite us together. Late at night comes Mr. Hudson, the cooper, my neighbour, and tells me that he came from Chatham this evening at five o'clock, and saw this afternoon "The Royal James," "Oake," and "London," burnt by the enemy with their fire-ships: that two or three men-of-war came up with them, and made no more of Upnor Castle's shooting, than of a fly; that those ships lay below Upnor Castle, but therein, I conceive, he is in an error; that the Dutch are fitting out "The Royall Charles;" that we shot so far as from the Yard thither, so that the shot did no good, for the bullets

¹ William Pierrepont, called "wise Pierrepont," younger son of the first Earl of Kingston, and brother to the Marquis of Dorchester. His grandson, Robert, succeeded as third Earl of Kingston.

² See 28th March, 1664, *ante*.

³ See 20th February, 1664-5, *ante*.

grazed on the water ; that Upnor played hard with their guns at first, but slowly afterwards, either from the men being beat off, or their powder spent.¹ But we hear that the fleete in the Hope is not come up any higher the last flood ; and Sir W. Batten tells me that ships are provided to sink in the River, about Woolwich, that will prevent their coming up higher if they should attempt it. I made my will also this day, and did give all I had equally between my father and wife.

14th. Up, and to the office ; where Mr. Fryer comes and tells me that there are several Frenchmen and Flemish ships in the River, with passes from the Duke of York for carrying of prisoners, that ought to be parted from the rest of the ships, and their powder taken, lest they do fire themselves when the enemy comes, and so spoil us ; which is good advice, and I think I will give notice of it ; and did so. But it is pretty odd to see how every body, even at this high time of danger, puts business off of their own hands !

¹ The want of ammunition when the Dutch burnt the fleet, and the revenge of the deserter sailors, are well described by Marvel, "*Works*," iii. p. 386: —

"Our Seamen, whom no danger's shape could fright,
Unpaid, refuse to mount their ships, for spite:
Or to their fellows swim, on board the Dutch,
Who show the tempting metal in their clutch.
Oft had (Monk) sent, of *Duncomb* and of *Legge*,
Cannon and powder, but in vain, to beg;
And *Upnor's Castle's ill-deserted wall*,
Now needful does for ammunition call,
He finds, where e'er he succour might expect,
Confusion, folly, treachery, fear, neglect."

He says that he told this to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to whom I, for the same reason, was directing him to go ; and the Lieutenant of the Tower bade him come to us, for he had nothing to do with it ; and yesterday comes Captain Crew, of one of the fire-ships, and told me that the officers of the Ordnance would deliver his gunner's materials, but not compound them,¹ but that we must do it ; whereupon I was forced to write to them about it ; and one that like a great many come to me this morning by and by comes — Mr. Wilson, and, by direction of his, a man of Mr. Gauden's ; who are come from Chatham last night, and saw the three ships burnt, they lying all dry, and boats going from the men-of-war and fire them. But that, that he tells me of worst consequence is, that he himself, I think he said, did hear many Englishmen on board the Dutch ships speaking to one another in English ; and that they did cry and say, "We did heretofore fight for tickets ; now we fight for dollars !" and did ask how such and such a one did, and would commend themselves to them : which is a sad consideration. And Mr. Lewes, who was present at this fellow's discourse to me, did tell me, that he is told that when they took "The Royall Charles," they said that they had their tickets signed, and showed some, and that now they come to have them paid, and would have them paid before they parted. And several seamen

¹ Meaning, apparently, that the Ordnance would deliver the charcoal, sulphur, and saltpetre separately, but not mix them as gunpowder — a distinction which has been brought prominently forward lately in the war-rocket case.

came this morning to me, to tell me that, if I would get their tickets paid, they would go and do all they could against the Dutch ; but otherwise they would not venture being killed, and lose all they have already fought for : so that I was forced to try what I could do to get them paid. This man tells me that the ships burnt last night did lie above Upnor Castle, over against the Docks ; and the boats came from the ships of war and burnt them : all which is very sad. And masters of ships, that we are now taking up, do keep from their ships all their stores, or as much as they can, so that we can despatch them, having not time to appraise them nor secure their payment ; only some little money we have, which we are fain to pay the men we have with, every night, or they will not work. And indeed the hearts as well as affections of the seamen are turned away ; and in the open streets in Wapping, and up and down, the wives have cried publicly, " This comes of your not paying our husbands ; and now your work is undone, or done by hands that understand it not." And Sir W. Batten told me that he was himself affronted with a woman, in language of this kind, on Tower Hill publicly yesterday ; and we are fain to bear it, and to keep one at the office door to let no idle people in, for fear of firing of the office and doing us mischief. The City is troubled at their being put upon duty : summoned one hour, and discharged two hours after ; and then again summoned two hours after that ; to their great charge as well as trouble. And Pelling, the Potticary, tells me the world says all over,

that less charge than what the kingdom is put to, of one kind or other, by this business, would have set out all our great ships. It is said they did in open streets yesterday, at Westminster, cry, "A Parliament ! a Parliament !" and I do believe it will cost blood to answer for these miscarriages. We do not hear that the Dutch are come to Gravesend ; which is a wonder. But a wonderful thing it is that to this day we have not one word yet from Brouncker, or Peter Pett, or J. Minnes, of anything at Chatham. The people that come hither to hear how things go, make me ashamed to be found unable to answer them : for I am left alone here at the office ; and the truth is, I am glad my station is to be here, near my own home and out of danger, yet in a place of doing the King good service. I have this morning good news from Gibson ; three letters from three several stages, that he was safe last night as far as Royston, at between nine and ten at night. The dismay that is upon us all, in the business of the kingdom and Navy at this day, is not to be expressed otherwise than by the condition the citizens were in when the City was on fire, nobody knowing which way to turn themselves, while every thing concurred to greaten the fire ; as here the easterly gale and spring-tides for coming up both rivers, and enabling them to break the chaine. D. Gauden did tell me yesterday, that the day before at the Council they were ready to fall together by the ears at the Council-table, arraigning one another of being guilty of the counsel that brought us into this misery, by laying up all the great

ships. Mr. Hater tells me at noon that some rude people have been, as he hears, at my Lord Chancellor's, where they have cut down the trees before his house and broke his windows; and a gibbet either set up before or painted upon his gate, and these three words writ: "Three sights to be seen; Dunkirke, Tangier, and a barren Queene."¹ It gives great matter of talk that it is said there is at this hour, in the Exchequer, as much money as is ready to break down the floor. This arises, I believe, from Sir G. Downing's late talk of the greatness of the sum lying there of the people's money, that they would not fetch away, which he showed me and a great many others. Most people that I speak with are in doubt how we shall do to secure our seamen from running over to the Dutch; which is a sad but very true consideration at this day. At noon I am told that my Lord Duke of Albemarle is made Lord High Constable; the meaning whereof at

¹ See 19th February, 1665-6, *ante*, and "Poems on State Affairs," vol. i. p. 253: —

"Pride, Lust, Ambition, and the People's Hate,
The kingdom's broker, ruin of the State,
Dunkirk's sad loss, divider of the fleet,
Tangier's compounder for a barren sheet:
This shrub of gentry, married to the crown,
His daughter to the heir, is tumbled down:
The grand imposter of the nobles lies
Gro'ling in dust, as a just sacrifice,
To appease the injured King and abased nation:
Who would believe the sudden alteration?
God will revenge, too, for the stones he took
From aged Paul's to make a nest for rooks;
All cormorants of State, as well as he,
We now may hope in the same plight to see."

this time I know not, nor whether it be true or no.¹ Dined, and Mr. Hater and W. Hewer with me ; where they do speak so sorrowfully of the posture of the times, and how people do cry out in the streets of their being bought and sold ; and both they, and every body that come to me, do tell me that people make nothing of talking treason in the streets openly : as, that we are bought and sold, and governed by Papists, and that we are betrayed by people about the King, and shall be delivered up to the French, and I know not what. At dinner we discoursed of Tom of the Wood, a fellow that lives like a hermit near Woolwich, who, as they say, and Mr. Bodham, they tell me, affirms that he was by at the Justice's when some did accuse him there for it, did fortell the burning of the City, and now says that a greater desolation is at hand. Thence we read and laughed at Lilly's prophecies this month, in his Almanack this year.² So to the office after dinner ; and thither comes Mr. Pierce, who tells me his condition, how he cannot get his money, about 500*l.*, which, he says, is a very great part of what he hath

¹ The report was not true.

² Probably the following prognostications amused Pepys and his friends : — "The several lunations of this month do rather portend sea-fights, wars, &c., than give hopes of peace, particularly the several configurations do very much threaten Holland with a most strange and unusual loss at sea, if they shall dare to fight His Majesty's forces. Still poor Poland is threatened either by the Muscovites or wandering Cossacks. Strange rumours dispersed in London, some vain people abuse His Majesty's subjects with untruths and ill-grounded suggestions. Much division in London about building; perhaps that may occasion those vain and idle reports. Strange news out of Holland, as if all were in an uproar; we believe they are now in a sad and fearful condition."

for his family and children, out of Viner's hand : and indeed it is to be feared that this will wholly undo the bankers. He says he knows nothing of the late affronts to my Lord Chancellor's house, as is said, nor hears of the Duke of Albemarle's being made High Constable ; but says that they are in great distraction at White Hall, and that every where people do speak high against Sir W. Coventry : ¹ but he agrees with me, that he is the best Minister of State the King hath, and so from my heart I believe. At night come home Sir W. Batten and W. Pen, who only can tell me that they have placed guns at Woolwich and Deptford, and sunk some ships below Woolwich and Blackewall, and are in hopes that they will stop the enemy's coming up. But strange our confusion ! that among them that are sunk they have gone and sunk without consideration "The Francklin," one of the King's ships, with stores to a very considerable value, that hath been long loaden for supply of the ships ; and the new ship at Bristoll, and much wanted there ; and nobody will own that they directed it, but do lay it on Sir W. Rider. They speak also of another ship, loaden to the value of 80,000*l.*, sunk with the goods in her, or at least was mightily contended for by him, and a foreign ship, that had the faith of the nation for her security : this Sir R. Ford tells us. And it is too plain a truth, that both here and at Chatham the ships that we have sunk have many, and the first of them, been ships completely fitted for

¹ Evelyn ("Diary," July 29, 1667) says it was owing to Sir W. Coventry that no fleet was sent out in 1667.

fire-ships at great charge. But most strange the backwardness and disorder of all people, especially the King's people in pay, to do any work, Sir W. Pen tells me, all crying out for money ; and it was so at Chatham, that this night comes an order from Sir W. Coventry to stop the pay of the wages of that Yard ; the Duke of Albemarle having related, that not above three of 1,100 in pay there did attend to do any work there. This evening having sent a messenger to Chatham on purpose, we have received a dull letter from my Lord Brouncker and Peter Pett, how matters have gone there this week ; but not so much, or so particularly, as we knew it by common talk before, and as true. I doubt they will be found to have been but slow men in this business ; and they say the Duke of Albemarle did tell my Lord Brouncker to his face that his discharging of the great ships there was the cause of all this ; and I am told that it is become common talk against my Lord Brouncker. But in that he is to be justified, for he did it by verbal order from Sir W. Coventry, and with good intent ; and it was to good purpose, whatever the success be, for the men would have but spent the King so much the more in wages, and yet not attended on board to have done the King any service ; and as an evidence of that, just now, being the 15th day in the morning that I am writing yesterday's passages, one is with me, Jacob Bryan, Purser of "The Princess," who confesses to me that he hath but 180 men borne at this day in victuals and wages on that ship lying at Chatham, being lately brought in thither ; of

which 180 there was not above five appeared to do the King any service at this late business. And this morning also, some of the Cambridge's men come up from Portsmouth, by order from Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who boasted to us the other day that he had sent for 50, and would be hanged if 100 did not come up that would do as much as twice the number of other men : I say some of them, instead of being at work at Deptford, where they were intended, do come to the office this morning to demand the payment of their tickets ; for otherwise they would, they said, do no more work ; and are, as I understand from everybody that has to do with them, the most debauched, damning, swearing rogues that ever were in the Navy, just like their prophane commander. Home, being at pretty good ease by a letter from my wife, brought by Saunders, that my father and wife got well last night to their Inn and out again this morning, and Gibson's being got safe to Caxton at twelve last night.

15th. All the morning at the office. No newes more than last night ; only Purser Tyler comes and tells me that he being at all the passages in this business at Chatham, he says there have been horrible miscarriages, such as we shall shortly hear of : that the want of boats hath undone us ; and it is commonly said, and Sir J. Minnes under his hand tells us, that they were employed by the men of the Yard to carry away their goods ; and I hear that Commissioner Pett will be found the first man that began to remove ; he is much spoken against, and Brouncker is com-

plained of and reproached for discharging the men of the great ships heretofore. At noon Mr. Hater dined with me; and tells me he believes that it will hardly be the want of money alone that will excuse to the Parliament the neglect of not setting out a fleete, it having never been done in our greatest straits, but however unlikely it appeared, yet when it was gone about, the State or King did compass it; and there is something in it. At night comes, unexpectedly so soon, Mr. Gibson, who left my wife well, and all got down well with them, but not with himself, which I was afeard of, and cannot blame him, but must myself be wiser against another time. He had one of his bags broke, through his breeches, and some pieces dropped out, not many, he thinks, but two, for he light, and took them up, and went back and could find no more. But I am not able to tell how many, which troubles me, but the joy of having the greatest part safe there makes me bear with it, so as not to afflict myself for it. Home and to my flageolet. Played with pleasure, but with a heavy heart, only it pleased me to think how it may please God I may live to spend my time in the country with plainness and pleasure, though but with little glory.

16th (Lord's day). Comes Roger Pepys and his son Talbot, whom he had brought to town to settle at the Temple, but, by reason of our present stirs, will carry him back again with him this week. He seems to be but a silly lad. I sent them to church this morning. Roger Pepys told me, that when I come

to his house he will show me a decree in Chancery, wherein there was twenty-six men all housekeepers in the town of Cottenham, in Queene Elizabeth's time, of our name. By and by occasion offered for my writing to Sir W. Coventry a plain bold letter touching lack of money; which, when it was gone, I was afeard might give offence: but upon two or three readings over again the copy of it, I was satisfied it was a good letter: only Sir W. Batten signed it with me, which I could wish I had done alone.

17th. To my office, where busy all the morning, particularly setting my people to work in transcribing pieces of letters publique and private, which I do collect against a black day to defend the office with and myself. At noon dined at home, Mr. Hater with me alone, who do seem to be confident that this nation will be undone, and with good reason. Wishes himself at Hambrough, as a great many more, he says, he believes do, but nothing but the reconciling of the Presbyterians will save us, and I am of his mind. At the office all the afternoon, where every moment business of one kind or other about the fire-ships and other businesses, most of them vexatious for want of money, the commanders all complaining that, if they miss to pay their men a night, they run away; seamen demanding money of them by way of advance, and some of Sir Fretcheville Hollis's men, that he so bragged of, demanding their tickets to be paid, or they would not work: this Hollis, Sir W. Batten and W. Pen say, proves a conceited, idle, prating, lying fellow.

But it was pleasant this morning to hear Hollis give me the account what, he says, he told the King in Commissioner Pett's presence, whence it was that his ship was fit sooner than others, telling the King how he dealt with the several Commissioners and agents of the Ports where he comes, offering Lanyon to carry him a Ton or two of goods to the streights, giving Middleton an hour or two's hearing of his stories of Barbadoes, going to prayer with Taylor, and standing bare and calling, "If it please your Honour," to Pett, but Sir W. Pen says that he tells this story to everybody, and believes it to be a very lie. Captain Cocke tells me there have been great endeavours of bringing in the Presbyterian interest, but that it will not do. He named to me several of the insipid lords that are to command the armies that are to be raised. He says the King and Court are all troubled, and the gates of the Court were shut up upon the first coming of the Dutch to us, but they do mind the business no more than ever: that the bankers, he fears, are broke as to ready-money, though Viner had 100,000*l.* by him when our trouble begun: that he and the Duke of Albemarle have received into their own hands, of Viner, the former 10,000*l.*, and the latter 12,000*l.*, in tallies or assignments, to secure what was in his hands of their's; and many other great men of our masters have done the like; which is no good sign, when they begin to fear the main. He and every body cries out of the office of the Ordnance, for their neglects, both at Gravesend and Upnor, and everywhere else. This

night, late, comes a porter with a letter from Monsieur Pratt, to borrow 100*l.* for my Lord Hinchinbroke, to enable him to go out with his troop in the country, as he is commanded; but I did find an excuse to decline it. Among other reasons to myself, this is one, to teach him the necessity of being a good husband, and keeping money or credit by him.

18th. To the office, and by and by word was brought me that Commissioner Pett is brought to the Tower,¹ and there laid up close prisoner; which puts me into a fright, lest they may do the same with us as they do with him. Great newes to-night of the blowing up of one of the Dutch greatest ships, while a Council of War was on board: the latter part, I doubt, is not so, it not being confirmed since; but the former, that they had a ship blown up, is said to be true. This evening comes Sir G. Carteret to the office, to talk of business at Sir W. Batten's; where all to be undone for want of money, there being none to pay the Chest at their public pay the 24th of this month, which will make us a scorn to the world. After he had done there, he and I into the garden, and walked; and the greatest of our discourse is, his sense of the requisiteness of his parting with his being Treasurer of the Navy, if he can, on any good terms. He do harp upon getting my Lord Brouncker to take

¹ "June 17th. This day, Commissioner Pett, to whom was committed the care of the Yard at Chatham, with the affairs of the Navy there, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, in order to his farther examination."—*The London Gazette*, No. 166.

it on half profit, but that he is not able to secure him in paying him so much. My Lady Jem goes down to Hinchinbroke to lie down, because of the troubles of the times here. He tells me now the great question is, whether a Parliament or no Parliament; and says the Parliament itself cannot be thought able at present to raise money, and therefore it will be to no purpose to call one.

19th. Comes an order from Sir R. Browne, commanding me this afternoon to attend the Council-board, with all my books and papers touching the Medway. I was ready to fear some mischief to myself, though it appears most reasonable that it is to inform them about Commissioner Pett; and so took coach and to the Council-chamber lobby, where I met Mr. Evelyn, who do miserably decry our follies that bring all this misery upon us. While we were discoursing over our public misfortunes, I am called in to a large Committee of the Council: present the Duke of Albe-marle, Anglesey, Arlington, Ashly, Carteret, Duncomb, Coventry, Ingram, Clifford, Lauderdale, Morrice, Manchester, Craven, Carlisle, Bridgewater. And after Sir W. Coventry's telling them what orders His Royal Highness had made for the safety of the Medway, I told them to their full content what we had done, and showed them our letters. Then was Peter Pett called in, with the Lieutenant of the Tower. He is in his old clothes, and looked most sillily. His charge was chiefly the not carrying up of the ships, and the using of the boats in carrying away his goods; to which he

answered very sillily, though his faults to me seem only great omissions. Lord Arlington and Coventry very severe against him ; the former saying that, if he was not guilty, the world would think them all guilty.¹ The latter urged, that there must be some faults, and that the Admiral must be found to have done his part. I did say an unhappy word, which I was sorry for, when he complained of want of oares for the boats : and there was, it seems, enough, and good enough, to

¹ Pett was made a scapegoat. This is confirmed in Marvel's *Satire* ("Works," vol. iii. p. 390) : —

"After this loss, to relish discontent,
Some one must be accused by Parliament:
All our miscarriages on Pett must fall,
His name alone seems fit to answer all.
Whose counsel first did this mad war beget?
Who all commands sold through the Navy? *Pett.*
Who would not follow when the Dutch were beat?
Who treated out the time at Bergen? *Pett.*
Who the Dutch fleet with storms disabled met,
And, rifling prizes, them neglected? *Pett.*
Who with false news prevented the Gazette,
The fleet divided, writ for *Rupert*? *Pett.*
Who all our seamen cheated of their debt?
And all our prizes who did swallow? *Pett.*
Who did advise no navy out to set?
And who the fort left unprepared? *Pett.*
Who to supply with powder did forget
Languard, Sheerness, Gravesend, and Upnor? *Pett.*
Who all our ships exposed in Chatham net?
Who should it be but the fanatick *Pett*?
Pett, the sea-architect, in making ships,
Was the first cause of all these naval slips.
Had he not built, none of these faults had been;
If no creation, there had been no sin:
But his great crime, one boat away he sent,
That lost our fleet, and did our flight prevent."

carry away all the boats with from the King's occasions. He said he used never a boat till they were all gone but one ; and that was to carry away things of great value, and these were his models of ships ; which, when the Council, some of them, had said they wished that the Dutch had had them instead of the King's ships, he answered, he did believe the Dutch would have made more advantage of the models than of the ships, and that the King had had greater loss thereby ; this they all laughed at. After having heard him for an hour or more, they bid him withdraw. I all this while showing him no respect, but rather against him, for which God forgive me ! for I mean no hurt to him, but only find that these Lords are upon their own purgation, and it is necessary I should be so in behalf of the office. He being gone, they caused Sir Richard Browne¹ to read over his minutes ; and then my Lord Arlington moved that they might be put into my hands to put into form, I being more acquainted with such business ; and they were so. So I away back with my books and papers ; and when I got out into the Court it was pretty to see how people gazed upon me, that I thought myself obliged to salute people and to smile, lest they should think I was a prisoner too ; but afterwards I found that most did take me to be there to bear evidence against P. Pett ; but my fear was such, at my going in, of the success of the day, that I did think fit to

¹ Clerk of the Council.

give T. Hater, whom I took with me, to wait the event, my closet-key and directions where to find 500*l.* and more in silver and gold, and my tallys, to remove, in case of any misfortune to me. Thence to Sir G. Carteret's to take my leave of my Lady Jem, who is going into the country to-morrow ; but she being now at prayers with my Lady and family, and hearing by Yorke, the carrier, that my wife is coming to towne, I did make haste home to see her, that she might not find me abroad, it being the first minute I have been abroad since yesterday was se'ennight. It is pretty to see how strange it is to be abroad to see people, as it used to be after a month or two's absence, and I have brought myself so to it, that I have no great mind to be abroad, which I could not have believed of myself. I got home, and after being there a little, my wife came, and two of her fellow-travellers with her, with whom we drunk : a couple of merchant-like men, I think, but have friends in our country. They being gone, my wife did give so bad an account of her and my father's method in burying of our gold, that made me mad : and she herself is not pleased with it, she believing that my sister knows of it. My father and she did it on Sunday, when they were gone to church, in open daylight, in the midst of the garden ; where, for aught they knew, many eyes might see them : which put me into such trouble, that I was almost mad about it, and presently cast about, how to have it back again to secure it here, the times being a little better now. Such was my trouble at this, that I fell

out with my wife, that though new come to towne, I did not sup with her, nor speak to her to-night, but to bed and sleep.

20th. Up without any respect to my wife, only answering her a question or two, without any anger though, and so to the office, where Mr. Barber came to me (one of the clerks of the ticket office) to get me to sign some tickets, and told me that all the discourse yesterday, about that part of the town where he was, was that Mr. Pett and I were in the Tower; and I did hear the same before. At noon, home to dinner, and there my wife and I very good friends; the care of my gold being somewhat over, considering it was in their hands that have as much cause to secure it as myself almost, and so if they will be mad, let them. But yet I do intend to send for it away. Busy all the afternoon; in the evening did treat with, and in the end agree, but by some kind of compulsion, with the owners of six merchant ships, to serve the King as men-of-war. But, Lord! to see how against the hair it is with these men and every body to trust us and the King; and how unreasonable it is to expect they should be willing to lend their ships, and lay out 2 or 300*l.* a man to fit their ships for new voyages, when we have not paid them half of what we owe them for their old services! I did write so to Sir W. Coventry this night.

21st. Up and by water to White Hall, there to discourse with Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Fen about office business. I found them all aground, and no money

to do anything with. Thence homewards, calling at my Tailor's to bespeak some coloured clothes, and thence to Hercules Pillars, all alone, and there spent 6*d.* on myself, and so home and busy all the morning. At noon to dinner, where my wife shows me a letter from her father, who is going over sea, and this afternoon would take his leave of her. I sent him by her three Jacobuses in gold, having real pity for him and her. This day comes news from Harwich that the Dutch fleete are all in sight, near 100 sail great and small, they think, coming towards them; where, they think, they shall be able to oppose them; but do cry out of the falling back of the seamen, few standing by them, and those with much faintness. The like they write from Portsmouth, and their letters this post are worth reading. Sir H. Cholmly came to me this day, and tells me the Court is as mad as ever; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with my Lady Castlemaine, at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and there were all mad in hunting of a poor moth.¹ All the Court afraid of a Parliament; but he thinks nothing can save us but the King's giving up all to a Parliament.

22nd. At the office all the morning busy. At noon to dinner, where Mr. Lewes Phillips, by invitation of my wife, comes, he coming up to town with her in the coach this week, and she expected another gentleman, a fellow traveller, and I perceive the feast was for him,

¹ Nero fiddled while Rome was burning.

though she did not say it, but by some mistake he came not, so there was a good dinner lost. Much talk with Mr. Phillips about country business, among others that there is no way for me to purchase any severall lands in Brampton, or making any severall that is not so, without much trouble and cost, and, it may be, not do it neither, so that there is no more ground to be laid to our Brampton house. In the evening came Captain Hart¹ and Haywood to me about the six merchant-ships now taken up for men-of-war; and in talk they told me about the taking of "The Royal Charles;" that nothing but carelessness lost the ship, for they might have saved her the very tide that the Dutch come up, if they would have but used means and had had but boats: and that the want of boats plainly lost all the other ships. That the Dutch did take her with a boat of nine men, who found not a man on board her, and her laying so near them was a main temptation to them to come on; and presently a man went up and struck her flag and jacke, and a trumpeter sounded upon her "Joan's placket² is torn:" that they did carry her down at a time, both for tides and wind, when the best pilot in Chatham would not have undertaken it, they heeling her on one side to make her draw little water: and so carried her away safe. They being gone, by and by

¹ The warrant of the Earl of Sandwich, appointing John Hart Captain of the "Revenge," 13th September, 1665, is among the loose papers in Rawlinson, A. 289.

² Placket: the open part of a woman's petticoat.

comes Sir W. Pen, who hath been at Court ; and in the first place, I hear the Duke of Cambridge is dead ;¹ which is a great loss to the nation, having, I think, never an heyre male now of the King's or Duke's to succeed to the Crown. He tells me that they do begin already to damn the Dutch, and call them cowards at White Hall, and think of them and their business no better than they used to do ; which is very sad. The King did tell him himself, which is so, I was told, here in the City, that the City hath lent him 10,000*l.*, to be laid out towards securing of the River of Thames ; which, methinks, is a very poor thing, that we should be induced to borrow by such mean sums. He tells me that it is most manifest that one great thing making it impossible for us to have set out a fleete this year, if we could have done it for money or stores, was the liberty given the beginning of the year for the setting out of merchant-men, which did take up, as is said, above ten, if not fifteen thousand seamen : and this appears in the council-books.

23rd (Lord's day). To my chamber, and there all the morning reading in my Lord Coke's pleas of the Crowne, very fine and noble reading. To Woolwich, and there called on Mr. Bodham : and he and I to see the batterys newly raised ; which, indeed, are good works to command the River below the ships that are sunk, but not above them. It is a sad sight to see so many good ships there sunk in the River, while we

¹ He died on the 20th June, at Richmond.

would be thought to be masters of the sea. Cocke says the bankers cannot, till peace returns, ever hope to have credit again ; so that they can pay no more money, but people must be contented to take publick security such as they can give them ; and if so, and they do live to receive the money thereupon, the bankers will be happy men. Fenn read me an order of council passed the 17th instant, directing all the Treasurers of any part of the King's revenue to make no payments but such as shall be approved by the present Lords Commissioners ; which will, I think, spoil the credit of all his Majesty's service, when people cannot depend upon payment any where. But the King's declaration in behalf of the bankers, to make good their assignments for money, is very good, and will, I hope, secure me. Cocke says, that he hears it is come to it now, that the King will try what he can soon do for a peace ; and if he cannot, that then he will cast all upon the Parliament to do as they see fit : and in doing so, perhaps, he may save us all. The King of France, it is believed, is engaged for this year ;¹ so that we shall be safe as to him. The great misery the City and kingdom is like to suffer for want

¹ Louis XIV. was at this time in Flanders, with his Queen, his mistresses, and all his Court. Turenne commanded under him. Whilst Charles was hunting moths at Lady Castlemaine's, and the English fleet was burning, Louis was carrying on the campaign with vigour. Armentières was taken on the 28th May; Charleroi on the 2nd June, St. Winoc on the 6th, Furnes on the 12th, Ath on the 16th, Tournay on the 24th; the Escarpe on the 6th July, Courtray on the 18th, Audenarde on the 31st; and Lisle on the 27th August.

of coals¹ in a little time is very visible, and, it is feared, will breed a mutiny; for we are not in any prospect to command the sea for our colliers to come, but rather, it is feared, the Dutch may go and burn all our colliers at Newcastle; though others do say that they lie safe enough there. No news at all of late from Bredah² what our Treaters do.

24th. Troubled a little at a letter from my father, which tells me of an idle companion, one Coleman, who went down with him and my wife in the coach, and came up again with my wife, a pensioner of the King's Guard, and one that my wife, indeed, made the feast for on Saturday last, though he did not come; but if he knows nothing of our money I will prevent any other inconvenience. In the evening comes Mr. Povy about business; and he and I to walk in the garden an hour or two, and to talk of State matters. He tells me his opinion that it is out of possibility for us to escape being undone, there being nothing in our power to do that is necessary for the saving us: a lazy Prince, no Council, no money, no reputation at home or abroad. He says that to this day the King do follow the women as much as ever he did; that the Duke of York hath not got Mrs. Middleton, as I was told the other day: but says that he wants not her, for he hath others, and hath always had, and that he [Povy] hath known them brought through the Matted Gallery at White

¹ See 26th June, *post*.

² See 9th August, *post*.

Hall into his [the Duke's] closet ; nay, he hath come out of his wife's bed, and gone to others laid in bed for him : that Mr. Brouncker is not the only pimp, but that the whole family are of the same strain, and will do any thing to please him : that, besides the death of the two Princes lately, the family is in horrible disorder by being in debt by spending above 60,000*l.* per annum, when he hath not 40,000*l.* : that the Duchess is not only the proudest woman in the world, but the most expensefull ; and that the Duke of York's marriage with her hath undone the kingdom, by making the Chancellor so great above reach, who otherwise would have been but an ordinary man, to have been dealt with by other people ; and he would have been careful of managing things well, for fear of being called to account ; whereas, now he is secure, and hath let things run to rack, as they now appear. That at a certain time Mr. Povy did carry him an account of the state of the Duke of York's estate, showing in faithfullness how he spent more than his estate would bear, by above 20,000*l.* per annum, and asked my Lord's opinion to it ; to which he answered that no man that loved the King or kingdom durst own the writing of that paper ; at which Povy was startled, and reckoned himself undone for this good service, and found it necessary then to show it to the Duke of York's Commissioners ;¹ who read,

¹ The Commissioners for regulating the Duke of York's affairs, in May, 1667, were John Lord Berkeley, of Stratton, Colonel Robert Werden, and Colonel Anthony Eyre. — *Household Book*, at Audley-End.

examined, and approved of it, so as to cause it to be put into form, and signed it, and gave it the Duke. Now the end of the Chancellor was, for fear that his daughter's ill housewifery should be condemned. He [Povy] tells me that the other day, upon this ill newes of the Dutch being upon us, White Hall was shut up, and the Council called and sat close ; and, by the way, he do assure me, from the mouth of some Privy-councillors, that at this day the Privy-council in general do know no more what the state of the kingdom as to peace and war is, than he or I ; nor who manages it, nor upon whom it depends ; and there my Lord Chancellor did make a speech to them, saying that they knew well that he was no friend to the war from the beginning, and therefore had concerned himself little in, nor could say much to it ; and a great deal of that kind, to discharge himself of the fault of the war. Upon which my Lord Anglesey rose up and told his Majesty that he thought their coming now together was not to enquire who was, or was not, the cause of the war, but to enquire what was, or could be, done in the business of making a peace, and in whose hands that was, and where it was stopped or forwarded ; and went on very highly to have all made open to them : and, by the way, I remember that Captain Cocke did the other day tell me that this Lord Anglesey hath said, within few days, that he would willingly give 10,000*l.* of his estate that he was well secured of the rest, such apprehensions he hath of the sequel of things, as giving all over for

lost. He tells me, speaking of the horrid effeminacy of the King, that the King hath taken ten times more care and pains in making friends between my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, when they have fallen out, than ever he did to save his kingdom ; nay, that upon any falling out between my Lady Castlemaine's nurse and her woman, my Lady hath often said she would make the King to make them friends, and they would be friends and be quiet ; which the King hath been fain to do : that the King is, at this day, every night in Hyde Park with the Duchess of Monmouth, or with my Lady Castlemaine : that he [Povy] is concerned of late by my Lord Arlington in the looking after some buildings that he is about in Norfolk,¹ where my Lord is laying out a great deal of money ; and that he, Mr. Povy, considering the unsafeness of laying out money at such a time as this, and, besides, the enviousness of the particular county, as well as all the kingdom, to find him building and employing workmen, while all the ordinary people of the country are carried down to the sea-sides for securing the land, he thought it becoming him to go to my Lord Arlington (Sir Thomas Clifford by), and give it as his advice to hold his hands a little ; but my Lord would

¹ At Euston Hall, in Suffolk, on the borders of Norfolk, which afterwards came into the Grafton family by the marriage of the first Duke with Lord Arlington's only child. Among Pepys's papers (Rawlinson, A. 195, fol. 58) is a document entitled "Considerations touching the purchase of the Park and Woods near Euston, drawn and presented by Mr. Povy, as his advice to my Lord Arlington, at this time (Oct. 28, 1668) in treaty for the purchase of Euston."

not, but would have him go on, and so Sir Thomas Clifford advised also, which one would think, if he were a statesman, should be a sign of his foreseeing that all should do well. He tells me that there is not so great confidence between any two men of power in the nation at this day, that he knows of, as between my Lord Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford; and that it arises by accident only, there being no relation nor acquaintance between them, but only Sir Thomas Clifford's coming to him, and applying himself to him for favours, when he came first up to town to be a Parliament-man. He tells me that he do not think there is anything in the world for us possibly to be saved by but the King of France's generousness to stand by us against the Dutch, and getting us a tolerable peace, it may be, upon our giving him Tangier and the islands he has taken, and other things he shall please to ask. He confirms me in the several grounds I have conceived of fearing that we shall shortly fall into mutinies and outrages among ourselves, and that therefore he, as a Treasurer, and therefore much more myself, as being not only a Treasurer but an officer in the Navy, on whom, for all the world knows, the faults of all our evils are to be laid, do fear to be seized on by some rude hands as having money to answer for, which will make me the more desirous to get off of this Treasurership as soon as I can, as I had before in my mind resolved. Having done all this discourse and concluded the kingdom in a desperate condition, we parted; and I to my wife, with whom was Mercer

and Betty Michell, poor woman, come with her husband to see us after the death of her little girle.

25th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen in his new chariot, which indeed is plain, but pretty and more fashionable in shape than any coach he hath, and yet do not cost him, harness and all, above 32*l.*, to White Hall; where staid a very little: and thence to St. James's to Sir W. Coventry, whom I have not seen since before the coming of the Dutch into the river, nor did indeed know how well to go to see him, for shame either to him or me, or both of us, to find ourselves in so much misery. I find that he and his fellow-Treasurers are in the utmost want of money, and do find fault with Sir G. Carteret, that, having kept the mystery of borrowing money to himself so long, to the ruin of the nation, as Sir W. Coventry said in words to Sir W. Pen and me, he should now lay it aside and come to them for money for every penny he hath, declaring that he can raise no more: which, I confess, do appear to me the most like ill-will of any thing that I have observed of Sir W. Coventry, when he himself did tell us, on another occasion at the same time, that the bankers who used to furnish them money are not able to lend a farthing, and he knows well enough that that was all the mystery Sir G. Carteret did use, that is, only his credit with them. He told us the masters and owners of the two ships that I had complained of, for not readily setting forth their ships, which we had taken up to make men-of-war, had been yesterday with the King and Council, and had made their case

so well understood, that the King did owe them for what they had earned the last year, and that they could not set them out again without some money or stores out of the King's Yard ; the latter of which Sir W. Coventry said must be done, for that they were not able to raise money for them, though it was but 200*l.* a ship : which do show us our condition to be so bad, that I am in a total despair of ever having the nation do well. After that talking awhile, and all out of heart with stories of want of seamen, and seamen's running away, and their demanding a month's advance, and our being forced to give seamen 3*s.* a-day to go hence to work at Chatham, and other things that show nothing but destruction upon us ; for it is certain that, as it now is, the seamen of England, in my conscience, would, if they could, go over and serve the King of France or Holland rather than us. Up to the Duke of York to his chamber, where he seems to be pretty easy, and now and then merry ; but yet one may perceive in all their minds there is something of trouble and care, and with good reason. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Pen, by chariot ; and there in the Court met with my Lord Anglesey : and he to talk with Sir W. Pen, and told him of the masters of ships being with the Council yesterday, and that we were not in condition, though the men were willing, to furnish them with 200*l.* of money, already due to them as earned by them the last year, to enable them to set out their ships again this year for the King : which he is amazed at ; and when I told him, " My Lord, this

is a sad instance of the condition we are in," he answered, that it was so indeed, and sighed ; and so parted : and he up to the Council-chamber, where I perceive they sit every morning. It is worth noting that the King and Council, in their order of the 23rd instant, for unloading three merchant-ships taken up for the King's service for men-of-war, do call the late coming of the Dutch "an invasion." I was told, yesterday, that Mr. Oldenburg,¹ our Secretary at Gresham College, is put into the Tower, for writing newes to a virtuoso in France, with whom he constantly corresponds in philosophical matters ; which makes it very unsafe at this time to write, or almost do any thing. Several captains come to the office yesterday and to-day, complaining that their men come and go when they will, and will not be commanded, though they are paid every night, or may be. Nay, this afternoon comes Harry Russell from Gravesend, telling us that the money carried down yesterday for the chest at Chatham had like to have been seized upon yesterday, in the barge there, by seamen, who did beat our watermen : and what men should these be but the boat's crew of Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who used to brag so much of the goodness and order of his men, and his command over them. Sir H. Cholmly tells me great newes ; that this day in Council the King hath declared that he will call his Parliament in thirty days : which is the best newes I have heard a great while,

¹ Henry Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society.

and will, if any thing, save the kingdom. How the King came to be advised to this, I know not ; but he tells me that it was against the Duke of York's mind flatly, who did rather advise the King to raise money as he pleased ; and against the Chancellor's, who told the King that Queen Elizabeth did do all her business in eighty-eight without calling a Parliament, and so might he do, for anything he saw. But, blessed be God ! it is done ; and pray God it may hold, though some of us must surely go to the pot, for all must be flung up to them, or nothing will be done.

26th. The Parliament is ordered to meet the 25th of July, being, as they say, St. James's day ; which every creature is glad of. Walking to the Old Swan, I met Sir Thomas Harvy, whom, asking the newes of the Parliament's meeting, he told me it was true, and they would certainly make a great rout among us. I answered, I did not care for my part, though I was ruined, so that the Commonwealth might escape ruin by it. He answered, that is a good one, in faith ; for you know yourself to be secure, in being necessary to the office ; but for my part, says he, I must look to be removed ; but then, says he, I doubt not but I shall have amends made me ; for all the world knows upon what terms I came in, which is a saying that a wise man would not unnecessarily have said, I think, to any body, meaning his buying his place of my Lord Barkely [of Stratton]. Colonel Reymes tells me of a letter come last night, or the day before, from my Lord St. Albans, out of France, wherein he says, that

the King of France did lately fall out with him, giving him ill names, saying that he had belied him to our King, by saying that he had promised to assist our King, and to forward the peace ; saying that indeed he had offered to forward the peace at such a time, but it was not accepted of, and so he thinks himself not obliged, and would do what was fit for him ; and so made him to go out of his sight in great displeasure : and he hath given this account to the King, which, Colonel Reymes tells me, puts them into new melancholy at Court, and he believes hath forwarded the resolution of calling the Parliament. At White Hall, spied Mr. Povy, who tells me, as a great secret, which none knows but himself, that Sir G. Carteret hath parted with his place of Treasurer of the Navy, by consent, to my Lord Anglesey, and is to be Treasurer of Ireland in his stead ; but upon what terms it is, I know not : and that it is in his power to bring me to as great a friendship and confidence in my Lord Anglesey as ever I was with Sir W. Coventry. Such is the want already of coals, and the despair of having any supply, by reason of the enemy's being abroad, and no fleete of ours to secure them, that they are come this day to 5*l.* 10*s.* per chaldron.

27th. Wakened this morning, about three o'clock, by a letter from Sir W. Coventry to W. Pen, that the Dutch are come up to the Nore again, and he knows not whether further or no, and would have, therefore, several things done — ships sunk, and I know not what — which Sir W. Pen (who it seems is very ill this

night, or would be thought so) hath directed Griffin to carry to the Trinity House. So up about six o'clock, full of thought what to do with the little money I have left and my plate, wishing with all my heart, that that was all secured. So to the office, where much business, and the more by my brethren being all out of the way ; Sir W. Pen this night taken so ill cannot stir ; Sir W. Batten ill at Walthamstow ; Sir J. Minnes the like at Chatham, and my Lord Brouncker there also upon business. Horrible trouble with the backwardness of the merchants to let us have their ships, and seamen's running away, and not to be got or kept without money. It is worth while turning to our letters this day to Sir W. Coventry about these matters. At noon to dinner, having a haunch of venison boiled ; and all my clerks at dinner with me ; and mightily taken with Mr. Gibson's discourse of the faults of this war in its management compared with that in the last war, which I will get him to put into writing. Thence to the office, where I saw the proclamations come out this day for the Parliament to meet the 25th of next month ; for which God be praised ! and another to invite seamen to bring in their complaints, of their being ill-used in the getting their tickets and money. Pierce tells me that he hears for certain fresh at Court, that France and we shall agree ; and more, that yesterday was damned at the Council, the Canary Company ; and also that my Lord Mordaunt hath laid down his Commission, both good things to please the Parliament, which I hope

will do good. Pierce tells me that all the town do cry out of our office, for a pack of fools and knaves ; but says that everybody speaks either well, or at least the best of me, which is my great comfort, and I think I deserve it, and shall show I have ; but yet do think, and he also, that the Parliament will send us all going ; and I shall be well contented with it, God knows ! But he tells me how Matt. Wren should say that he was told that I should say that W. Coventry was guilty of the miscarriage at Chatham, though I myself, as he confesses, did tell him otherwise, and that it was wholly Pett's fault. This do trouble me, not only as untrue, but as a design in some one or other to do me hurt ; for, as the thing is false, so it never entered into my mouth or thought, nor ever shall. He says that he hath rectified Wren in his belief of this, and so all is well. He gone, I to business till the evening, and then by chance home, and find the fellow that came up with my wife, Coleman, last from Brampton, a silly rogue, but one that would seem a gentleman ; but I did not stay with him. News this tide, that about 80 sail of the Dutch, great and small, were seen coming up the river this morning ; and this tide some of them to the upper end of the Hope.

28th. Sir W. Batten is come to town : I to see him ; he is very ill of his fever, and come only for advice. Sir J. Minnes, I hear also, is very ill all this night, worse than before. We find the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry gone this morning, by two o'clock, to Chatham, to come home to-night : and it is fine to

observe how both the King and Duke of York have, in their several late journeys to and again, done them in the night for coolnesse. To Sir G. Carteret, and I dined with my Lady and good company, and good dinner. My Lady and the family in very good humour upon this business of his parting with his place of Treasurer of the Navy, which I perceive they do own. They tell me that the Duke of Buckingham hath surrendered himself to Secretary Morrice, and is going to the Tower. Mr. Fenn, at the table, says that he hath been taken by the watch two or three times of late, at unseasonable hours, but so disguised that they could not know him : and when I come home, by and by, Mr. Lowther tells me that the Duke of Buckingham do dine publickly this day at Wadlow's, at the Sun Tavern ; and is mighty merry, and sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he would come to him as soon as he had dined. Now, how sad a thing it is, when we come to make sport of proclaiming men traitors, and banishing them, and putting them out of their offices, and Privy Council, and of sending to and going to the Tower : God have mercy on us ! At table, my Lady and Sir Philip Carteret have great and good discourse of the greatness of the present King of France—what great things he hath done, that a man may pass, at any hour of the night, all over that wild city [Paris], with a purse in his hand and no danger : that there is not a beggar to be seen in it, nor dirt lying in it ; that he hath married two of Colbert's daughters to two of the greatest princes of

France, and given them portions — bought the greatest dukedom in France, and given it to Colbert ;¹ and ne'er a prince in France dare whisper against it, whereas here our King cannot do any such thing, but everybody's mouth is open against him for it, and the man that hath the favour also. That to several commanders that had not money to set them out to the present campagne, he did of his own accord send them 1,000*l.* sterling a-piece, to equip themselves. But then they did enlarge upon the slavery of the people — that they are taxed more than the real estates they have ; nay, it is an ordinary thing for people to desire to give the King all their land that they have, and themselves become only his tenants, and pay him rent for the full value of it : so they may have but their earnings. But this will not be granted ; but he shall give the value of his rent, and part of his labour too. That there is not a petty governor of a province — nay, of a town, but he will take the daughter from the richest man in the town under him, that hath got anything, and give her to his footman for a wife if he pleases, and the King of France will do the like to the best man in his kingdom — take his daughter

¹ The Carterets appear to have mystified Pepys, who eagerly believed all that was told him. At this time Paris was notoriously unsafe, infested with robbers and beggars, and abominably unclean. Colbert had three daughters, of whom the eldest was just married when Pepys wrote, viz., Jean Marie Therèse, to the Duc de Chevreuse, on the 3rd February, 1667. The second daughter, Henriette Louise, was not married to the Duc de St. Aignan till 21st January. 1671: and the third, Marie Anne, to the Duc de Mortemart, 14th February, 1679. Colbert himself was never made a Duke. His highest title was Marquis de Seignelay.

from him, and give her to his footman, or whom he pleases. It is said that he do make a sport of us now ; and says, that he knows no reason why his cozen, the King of England, should not be as willing to let him have his kingdom, as that the Dutch should take it from him. Sir G. Carteret did tell me, that the business was done between him and my Lord Anglesey ; that himself is to have the other's place of Deputy Treasurer of Ireland, which is a place of honour and great profit, being far better than the Treasurer's, my Lord of Corke's,¹ and to give the other his, of Treasurer of the Navy ; that the King, at his earnest entreaty, did, with much unwillingness, but with owning of great obligations to him, for his faithfulness and long service to him and his father, grant his desire. My Lord Chancellor, I perceive, is his friend in it. I remember I did in the morning tell Sir H. Cholmly of this business : and he answered me, he was sorry for it ; for, whatever Sir G. Carteret was, he is confident my Lord Anglesey is one of the greatest knaves in the world. Home, and there find my wife making of tea ; a drink which Mr. Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions. To Sir W. Batten's, to see how he did ; and he is better than he was. He told me how Mrs. Lowther had her train held up yesterday by her page,² at his house in the country ; which is so ridiculous a piece of pride as I am ashamed of. He told me also how he hears by somebody that Mrs.

¹ The Earl of Burlington. Pepys here calls him by his Irish title.

² See 14th July, *post*.

Williams had sold her jewels and clothes to raise money for something or other ; and indeed the last night a letter was sent from her to me, to send to my Lord, with about five pieces of gold in it, which methought at the time was but a poor supply. I then to Sir W. Pen, who continues a little ill, or dissembles it, the latter of which I am apt to believe. Here I staid but little, not meaning much kindness in it ; and so to the office, and dispatched more business. Mr. Pelling supped with us, and told us the news of the town ; how the officers of the Navy are cried out upon, and a great many greater men ; but do think that I shall do well enough ; and I think, if I have justice, I shall. He tells me of my Lord Duke of Buckingham, his dining to-day at the Sun, and that he was mighty merry ; and, what is strange, tells me that really he is at this day a very popular man, the world reckoning him to suffer upon no other account than that he did propound in Parliament to have all the questions that had to do with the receipt of the taxes and prizes ; but they must be very silly that do think he can do any thing out of good intention. After a great deal of tittle-tattle with this honest man, we to bed. We hear that the Dutch are gone down again ; and, thanks be to God ! the trouble they give us this second time is not very considerable.

29th. By coach to St. James's, and there find Sir W. Coventry and Sir W. Pen, and then we to discourse about making up our accounts against the Parliament ; and Sir W. Coventry did give us the best advice he

could for us to provide for our own justification, believing, as every body do, that they will fall heavily upon us all, though he lay all upon want of money. He says he do prepare to justify himself, and that he hears that my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Arlington, the Vice Chamberlain and himself are reported all up and down the Coffee houses to be the four sacrifices that must be made to atone the people. Then we to talk of the loss of all affection and obedience now in the seamen, so that all power is lost. He told us that he do concur in thinking that want of money do do the most of it, but that that is not all, but the having of gentlemen Captains, who discourage all Tarpaulins, and have given out that they would in a little time bring it to that pass that a Tarpaulin should not dare to aspire to more than to be a Boatswain or a gunner. That this makes the Sea Captains to lose their own good affections to the service, and to instil it into the seamen also, and that the seamen do see it themselves and resent it; and tells us that it is notorious, even to his bearing of great ill will at Court, that he has been the opposer of gentlemen Captains; and Sir W. Pen did put in, and said that he was esteemed to have been the man that did instil it into Sir W. Coventry, which Sir W. Coventry did owne also, and says that he has always told the Gentlemen Captains his opinion of them, and that himself who had now served to the business of the sea 6 or 7 years should know a little, and as much as them that had never almost been at sea, and that yet he found himself fitter to be a

Bishop or Pope than to be a Sea-Commander, and so indeed he is. So home, and there I found Coleman come again, which vexed me. I staid there awhile and then to my study vexed, showing no civility to the man. But he comes on a compliment to receive my wife's commands into the country, whither he is going. By and by my cozen Thomas Pepys,¹ of Hatcham, came to see me, and he thinks nothing but a union of religious interests will ever settle us; and I do think that, and the Parliament's taking the whole management of things into their hands, and severe inquisitions into our miscarriages, will help us. To my wife, to whom I now propose the going to Chatham, who, mightily pleased with it, sent for Mercer to go with her, but she could not go, having friends at home; and the poor wretch was contented to stay at home, on condition to go to Epsom next Sunday. Talking with Sir W. Batten, he did give me an account how ill the King and Duke of York was advised to send orders for our frigates and fire-ships to come from Gravesend, soon as ever news come of the Dutch being returned into the river, wherein no seamen, he believes, was advised with; for, says he, we might have done just as Warwicke² did, when he, W. Batten,³ came with the King and the like fleete, in the late wars, into the river; for Warwicke did not run away from them, but sailed before them when they

¹ See *ante*, May 12, 1665, note.

² Robert Rich, second of the name, Earl of Warwick.

³ See 25th of May, 1660, note.

sailed, and came to anchor when they came to anchor, and always kept in a small distance from them : so as to be able to take every opportunity of any of their ships running aground, or change of wind, or any thing else, to his advantage. So might we have done with our fire-ships, and we have lost an opportunity of taking or burning a good ship of their's, which was run aground about Holehaven, I think he said, with the wind so as their ships could not get her away ; but we might have done what we would with her, and, it may be, done them mischief, too, with the wind.

30th (Lord's day). Up about three o'clock, and Creed and I got ourselves ready, and took coach at our gate, it being very fine weather, and the cool of the morning, and with much pleasure, without any stop, got to Rochester about ten of the clock. At the landing-place, I met my Lord Brouncker and my Lord Douglas,¹ and all the officers of the soldiers in the town, waiting there for the Duke of York, who they heard was coming. By and by comes my Lord Middleton, well mounted : he seems a fine soldier, and so every body says he is ; and a man, like my Lord Teviott and indeed most of the Scotch gentry, as I observe, of few words. After seeing the boats come up from Chatham, with them that rowed with bandealers about their shoulders, and muskets in their boats ; they being the workmen of the Yard, who have promised to redeem their credit, lost by their desert-

¹ James, second Marquis of Douglas, and nephew to the Duke of Hamilton.

ing the service when the Dutch were there ; I and Creed down by boat to Chatham-yard. Thence to see the batteries made ; which, indeed, are very fine, and guns placed so as one would think the River should be very secure. I was glad, as also it was new to me, to see so many fortifications as I have of late seen, and so up to the top of the Hill, there to look, and could see towards Sheerensse, to spy the Dutch fleete, but could make out none but one vessel, they being all gone. Here I was told, that, in all the late attempt, there was but one man that they know killed on shore : and that was a man that had laid upon his belly upon one of the hills, on the other side of the River, to see the action ; and a bullet come, and so he was killed. Thence back to the docke, and in my way saw how they are fain to take the deals of the rope-house to supply other occasions, and how sillily the country troopers look, that stand upon the passes there ; and, methinks, as if they were more willing to run away than to fight, and it is said that the country soldiers did first run at Sheerensse, but that then my Lord Douglas's men did run also ; but it is excused that there was no defence for them towards the sea, that so the very beach did fly in their faces as the bullets came, and annoyed them, they having, after all this preparation of the officers of the ordnance, only done something towards the land, and nothing at all towards the sea. The people here everywhere do speak very badly of Sir Edward Spragge, as not behaving himself as he should have done in that busi-

ness, going away with the first, and that old Captain Pyne, who, I am here told, and no sooner, is Master-Gunner of England, was the last that staid there. Thence by barge, it raining hard, down to the chaine; and in our way did see the sad wrackes of the poor "Royall Oake," "James," and "London;" and several other of our ships by us sunk, and several of the enemy's, whereof three men-of-war that they could not get off, and so burned. I do not see that Upnor Castle hath received any hurt by them, though they played long against it; and they themselves shot till they had hardly a gun left upon the carriages, so badly provided they were: they have now made two batteries on that side, which will be very good, and do good service. So to the chaine, and there saw it fast at the end on Upnor side of the River; very fast, and borne up upon the several stages across the River; and where it is broke nobody can tell me. I went on shore on Upnor side to look upon the end of the chaine; and caused the link to be measured, and it was six inches and one-fourth in circumference. It seems very remarkable to me, and of great honour to the Dutch, that those of them that did go on shore to Gillingham, though they went in fear of their lives, and were some of them killed; and, notwithstanding their provocation at Schelling,¹ yet killed none of our people nor plundered their houses, but did take some things of easy carriage, and left the rest, and not a

¹ The island near the entrance of the Zuyder Zee, on which Sir Robert Holmes had landed. See August 15, 1666, *ante*.

house burned ; and, which is to our eternal disgrace, that what my Lord Douglas's men, who came after them, found there, they plundered and took all away ; and the watermen that carried us did further tell us, that our own soldiers are far more terrible to those people of the country-towns than the Dutch themselves. We were told at the batteries, upon my seeing of the field-guns that were there, that, had they come a day sooner, they had been able to have saved all ; but they had no orders, and lay lingering upon the way, and did not come forward for want of direction. Commissioner Pett's house was all unfurnished, he having carried away all his goods. I met with no satisfaction whereabouts the chaine was broke, but do confess I met with nobody that I could well expect to have satisfaction from, it being Sunday ; and the officers of the Yard most of them abroad, or at the Hill house. Several complaints, I hear, of the Monmouth's coming away too soon from the chaine, where she was placed with the two guard-ships to secure it ; and Captain Robert Clerke, my friend, is blamed for so doing there, but I hear nothing of him at London about it ; but Captain Brooke's running aground with the " Sancta Maria," which was one of the three ships that were ordered to be sunk to have dammed up the River at the chaine, is mightily cried against, and with reason, he being the chief man to approve of the abilities of the other men, and the two other ships did get safe thither and he run aground ; but yet I do hear that though he be blameable, yet if she had been

there, she nor two more to them three would have been able to have commanded the river all over. I find that here, as it hath been in our river,¹ fire-ships, when fitted, have been sunk afterwards, and particularly those here at the Mussle,² where they did no good at all. Our great ships that were run aground and sunk are all well raised but the "Vanguard," which they go about to raise to-morrow. "The Henery," being let loose to drive up the river of herself, did run up as high as the bridge, and broke down some of the rails of the bridge, and so back again with the tide, and up again, and then berthed himself so well as no pilot could ever have done better; and Punnet says he would not, for his life, have undertaken to have done it, with all his skill. I find it is true that the Dutch did heele "The Charles" to get her down, and yet run aground twice or thrice, and yet got her safe away, and have her, with a great many good guns in her, which none of our pilots would ever have undertaken. It is very considerable the quantity of goods, which the making of these platforms and batterys do take out of the King's stores: so that we shall have little left there, and, God knows! no credit to buy any. It is a strange thing to see that, while my Lords Douglas and Middleton do ride up and down upon single horses, my Lord Brouncker do go up and down with his hackney-coach and six horses at the King's charge. But I do not see that he hath any command

¹ The Thames.

² Muscle Bank, in the Medway.

over the seamen, he being affronted by three or four seamen before my very face, which he took sillily, me-thought; and is not able to do so much good as a good boatswain in this business. My Lord Brouncker, I perceive, do endeavour to speak well of Commissioner Pett, saying that he did exercise great care and pains while he was there, but do not undertake to answer for his carrying up of the great ships. Back again to Rochester, and there walked to the Cathedral as they were begun of the service, but would not be seen to stay at church there, besides had no mind, but rather to go to our inne, the White Hart, where we drank and were fain (the towne being so full of soldiers) to have a bed corded for us to lie in. Here in the streets, I did hear the Scotch march beat by the drums before the soldiers, which is very odde. Thence to the Castle, and viewed it with Creed, and had good satisfaction from him that showed it us touching the history of it. Then into the fields, a fine walk, and there saw Sir F. Clerk's house, which is a pretty seat, and into the cherry garden, and here met with a young, plain, silly shopkeeper, and his wife, a pretty young woman, and I did kiss her, and we talked and eat cherries together, and then to walk in the fields till it was late, and then to our inne, where, I hear, my Lord Brouncker hath sent to speak with me: so I took his coach, which stands there with two horses, and to him and to his bedside, where he was in bed, and hath a watchman with a halbert at his door; and to him, and did talk a little, and find him

a very weak man for this business that he is upon ; and do pity the King's service, that is no better handled, and his folly to call away Pett before we could have found a better man to have staid in his stead. With Creed back to our inne to supper, and then to bed, but could get no sheets to our bed, only linen to our mouths, and so to sleep.

July 1st. We took coach, and, being very sleepy, droused most part of the way to Gravesend, and there 'light, and down to the new batterys, which are like to be very fine, and there did hear a plain fellow cry out upon the folly of the King's officers above, to spend so much money in works at Woolwich and Deptford, and sinking of good ships loaden with goods, when, if half the charge had been laid out here, it would have secured all that, and this place too, before now. And I think it is not only true, but that the best of the actions of us all are so silly, that the meanest people begin to see through them, and condemn them. Besides, says he, they spoil the river by it. Then informed ourselves where we might have some creame, and thither we went with the coach, and found it a mighty clean, plain, house, and had a dish of very good creame to our liking, and so away presently very merry, and fell to reading of the several advices to a Painter, which made us good sport, and indeed are very witty, and Creed did also repeat to me some of the substance of letters of old Burleigh in Queen Elizabeth's time, which he has of late read in the printed Cabbala, which is a very fine style at

this day and fit to be imitated. With this, and talking and laughing at the folly of our masters in the management of things at this day, we got home by noon, where all well. Then to the office, where I am sorry to hear that Sir J. Minnes is likely to die this night.

2nd. Up and put on my new silke camelott suit, made of my cloak, and suit now made into a vest. So to the office, where W. Pen and myself, and Sir T. Harvy met, the first time we have had a meeting, since the coming of the Dutch upon this coast. Our only business (for we have little else to do, nobody being willing to trust us for anything) was to speak with the owners of six merchantmen which we have been taking up this fortnight, and are yet in no readiness, they not fitting their ships without money advanced to them, we owing them for what their ships have earned the last year. So everything stands still while we want money to pay for some of the most necessary things that we promised ready money for in the height of our wants, as grapnells, &c. Busy till night, and then comes Mrs. Turner, and tells me how she hears at the other end of the town how bad our office is spoken of by the King and Prince and Duke of Albemarle, and that there is not a good word said of any of us but of me, and me they all do speak mightily of, which, whether true or no, I am mighty glad to hear, but from all put together that I hear from other people, I am likely to pass as well as anybody. So, she gone, comes my wife and to walk in

the garden, Sir J. Minnes being still ill and so keeping us from singing, and by and by Sir W. Pen came and walked with us and gave us a bottle of Syder, and so we home to supper. This day I am told that poor Tooker is dead, a very painfull poor man as ever I knew.

3rd. Sir Richard Ford tells us how he hath been at the Sessions-house, and there it is plain that there is a combination of rogues in the town, that do make it their business to set houses on fire, and that one house they did set on fire in Aldersgate Streete last Easter; and that this is proved by two young men, whom one of them debauched by degrees to steal their fathers' plate and clothes, and at last to be of their company; and they had their places to take up what goods were flung into the streets out of the windows, when the houses were on fire; and this is like to be proved to a great number of rogues, whereof five are already found, and some found guilty this day. One of these boys is the son of a Montagu,¹ of my Lord Manchester's family; but whose son he could not tell me. To the Council-chamber, to deliver a letter to their Lordships about the state of the six merchantmen which we have been so long fitting out. When I came, the King and the whole table full of Lords were hearing of a pitifull cause of a complaint of an old man, with a great grey beard, against his

¹ A son of James Montague, of Lackham, third son of the first Earl of Manchester, by his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir R. Baynard, of Lackham, Wilts.

son, for not allowing him something to live on ; and at last came to the ordering the son to allow his father 10*l.* a-year. This cause lasted them near two hours ; which, methinks, at this time to be the work of the Council-board of England, is a scandalous thing. Here I find all the newes is the enemy's landing 3,000 men near Harwich, and attacking Landguard Fort, and being beat off thence with our great guns, killing some of their men, and they leaving their ladders behind them ; but we had no Horse in the way on Suffolk side, otherwise we might have galled their Foot. The Duke of York is gone down thither this day, while the General ¹ sat sleeping this afternoon at the Council-table. This cause being over, the Trinity men, whom I did not expect to meet, were called in, and there Sir W. Pen made a formal speech in answer to a question of the King's, whether the lying of the sunk ships in the river would spoil the river. But Lord ! how gingerly he answered it, and with a deal of do that he did not know whether it would be safe as to the enemy to have them taken up, but that doubtless it would be better for the river. Methought the Council found them answer like fools, and it ended in bidding them think more of it, and putting their answer in writing. Thence I to Westminster Hall, and there hear how they talk against the present management of things, and against Sir W. Coventry for his bringing in of new commanders and casting out the

¹ The Duke of Albemarle.

old seamen, which I did endeavour to rectify them in, letting them know that he has opposed it all his life the most of any man in England. Thence to White Hall to Mr. Williamson, and by and by my Lord Arlington about Mr. Lanyon's business, and it is pretty to see how Mr. Williamson did altogether excuse himself that my business was not done when I came to my Lord and told him my business ; Why, says my Lord, it has been done, and the King signed it several days ago, and so it was and was in Mr. Williamson's hand, which made us both laugh, and I in innocent mirth, I remember, said, it is pretty to see in what a condition we are that all our matters now-a-days are undone, we know not how, and done we know not when. He laughed at it, but I have since reflected on it, and find it a severe speech as it might be taken by a chief minister of state, as indeed Mr. Williamson is, for he is indeed the Secretary. But we fell to other pleasant talk, and a fine gentleman he is, and so gave him 5*l.* for his fee, and away home.

4th. To the Sessions-house, where I have a mind to hear Bazill Fielding's case ¹ tried ; and so got up to the Bench, my Lord Chief-Justice Keeling ² being Judge. Here I stood bare, not challenging, though I might well enough, to be covered. But here were several fine trials ; among others, several brought in for making it their trade to set houses on fire merely

¹ See 9th May, 1667, *ante*.

² Sir John Keeling, King's Serjeant, 1661; Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1665.

to get plunder ; and all proved by the two little boys spoken of yesterday by Sir R. Ford, who did give so good account of particulars that I never heard children in my life. And I confess, though I was unsatisfied with the force given to such little boys, to take away men's lives, yet, when I was told that my Lord Chief-Justice did declare that there was no law against taking the oath of children above twelve years old, and then heard from Sir R. Ford the good account which the boys had given of their understanding the nature and consequence of an oath, and now my own observation of the sobriety and readiness of their answers, further than of any man of any rank that came to give witness this day, though some men of years and learning, I was a little amazed, and fully satisfied that they ought to have as much credit as the rest. They proved against several, their consulting several times at a brothel in Moore-Fields, called the Russia House, among many other rogueries, of setting houses on fire, that they might gather the goods that were flung into the streets ; and it is worth considering how unsafe it is to have children play up and down this lewd town. For these two boys, one my Lady Montagu's, I know not what Lady Montagu, son, and the other of good condition, were playing in Moore-Fields, and one rogue, Gabriel Holmes, did come to them and teach them to drink, and then to bring him plate and clothes from their fathers' houses, and carry him into their houses, and leaving open the doors for him, and at last were made of their conspiracy, and

were at the very burning of this house in Aldersgate Street, on Easter Sunday night last, and did gather up goods, as they had resolved before : and this Gabriel Holmes did advise to have had two houses set on fire, one after another, that, while they were quenching of one, they might be burning another. And it is pretty that G. Holmes did tell his fellows, and these boys swore it, that he did set fire to a box of linen in the Sheriffe, Sir Joseph Shelden's house, while he was attending the fire in Aldersgate Street, and the Sheriffe himself said that there was a fire in his house, in a box of linen, at the same time, but cannot conceive how this fellow should do it. The boys did swear against one of them, that he had made it his part to pull the plug out of the engine while it was a-playing ; and it really was so. And goods they did carry away, and the manner of the setting the house on fire was, that Holmes did get to a cockpit, where, it seems, there was a publick cockpit, and set fire to the straw in it, and hath a fire-ball at the end of the straw, which did take fire, and so it prevailed, and burned the house ; and, among other things they carried away, he took six of the cocks that were at the cockpit ; and afterwards the boys told us how they had one dressed, by the same token it was so hard they could not eat it. But that which was most remarkable was the impudence of this Holmes, who hath been arraigned often, and still got away ; and on this business was taken and broke loose just at Newgate Gate ; and was last night luckily taken about Bow, where he got loose, and run

into the river, and hid himself in the rushes ; and they pursued him with a dog, and the dog got him and held him till he was taken. But the impudence of this fellow was such, that he denied he ever saw the boys before, or ever knew the Russia House, or that the people knew him ; and by and by the mistress of the Russia House was called in, being indicted, at the same time, about another thing ; and she denied that the fellow was of her acquaintance, when it was pretty to see how the little boys did presently fall upon her, and ask her how she durst say so, when she was always with them when they met at her house, and particularly when she came in her smock before a dozen of them, at which the Court laughed, and put the woman away. Well, this fellow Holmes¹ was found guilty of the act of burning the house, and other things, that he stood indicted for. And then there were other good cases, as of a woman that came to serve a gentlewoman, and in three days run away, betimes in the morning, with a great deal of plate and rings, and other good things. It was time very well spent to be here. Here I saw how favourable the judge was to a young gentleman that struck one of the officers, for not making him room : told him he had endangered the loss of his hand, but that he hoped he had not struck him, and would suppose that he had not struck him. The Court then rose, and I to dinner

¹ According to Smith's "Obituary," Gabriel Holmes was hanged on the 11th July, 1667, and buried in the new churchyard in the fields, in Cripplegate parish.

with my Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; where a good dinner and a good discourse, the Judge being there. There was also tried this morning Fielding, which I thought had been Bazill; — but it proved the other, and Bazill was killed; — that killed his brother, who was found guilty of murder, and nobody pitied him. The Judge seems to be a worthy man, and able: and do intend, for these rogues that burned this house to be hung in some conspicuous place in the town, for an example.

5th. Sir G. Carteret did come to us. He told us that the great seale is passed to my Lord Anglesey for Treasurer of the Navy: so that now he do no more belong to us: and I confess, for his sake, I am glad of it, and do believe the other will have little content in it. At noon I home to dinner with my wife, and after dinner to sing, and then to the office a little and Sir W. Batten's, where I am vexed to hear that Nan Wright, now Mrs. Markham, Sir W. Pen's mayde and mistress, is come to sit in our pew at church, and did so while my Lady Batten was there. I confess I am very much vexed at it and ashamed. No news, but that the Dutch are gone clear from Harwich northward, and have given out that they are going to Yarmouth.

6th. Up and to the office. At noon home, whither Creed came to dine with us and brings the first news of a peace. The news was so good and sudden that I went with great joy to Sir W. Batten and then to Sir W. Pen to tell it them, and so home to dinner

mighty merry, and light at my heart only on this ground, that a continuing of the war must undo us, and so though peace may do the like if we do not make good use of it to reform ourselves and get up money, yet there is an opportunity for us to save ourselves ; at least, for my own particular, we shall continue well till I can get my money into my hands, and then I will shift for myself. Thence with joyful heart to White Hall to ask Mr. Williamson, who told me that Mr. Coventry is coming over with a project of a peace ; which, if the States agree to, and our King, when their Ministers on both sides have showed it them, we shall agree, and that is all : but the King, I hear, do give it out plain that the peace is concluded. Thence by coach home, and there wrote a few letters, and then to consult with my wife about going to Epsum to-morrow, sometimes designing to go and then again not ; at last I bethought myself of business to employ me at home to-morrow, and so I did not go. This afternoon I met with Mr. Rolt, who tells me that he is going Cornett under Collonel Ingoldsby, being his old acquaintance, and Ingoldsby has a troop now from under the King, and I think it is a handsome way for him, but it was an ominous thing, methought, just as he was bidding me his last adieu, his nose fell a-bleeding, which ran in my mind a pretty while after. This afternoon Sir Alexander Frazier, who was of counsel for Sir J. Minnes, and had given him over for a dead man, said to me at White Hall : — “What,” says he, “Sir J. Minnes is dead.” I told him, “No !

but that there is hopes of his life." Methought he looked very sillily after it, and went his way. Late home, a little troubled at my not going to Epsum to-morrow, as I had resolved, especially having the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry out of town, but it was my own fault and at last my judgment to stay, and so after supper to bed. This day, with great satisfaction, I hear that my Lady Jemimah is brought to bed, at Hinchinbroke, of a boy.¹

7th (Lord's day). Mr. Moore tells me that the discontented Parliament-men are fearful that the next sitting the King will try for a general excise, by which to raise him money, and then to fling off the Parliament, and raise a land-army and keep them all down like slaves; and it is gotten among them, that Bab. May, the Privy-purse, had been heard to say that 300*l.* a-year is enough for any country gentleman; which makes them mad, and they do talk of 6 or 800,000*l.* gone into the Privy-purse this war, when in King James's time it arose but to 5,000*l.*, and in King Charles's time but 10,000*l.* in a year. He tells me that a goldsmith in town told him that, being with some plate with my Lady Castlemaine lately, she directed her woman (the great beauty), "Wilson," says she, "make a note for this, and for that, to the Privy-purse for money." He tells me a little more of the baseness of the courses taken at Court in the case of Mr.

¹ George Carteret, in 1681, created Baron Carteret, of Hawnes, co. Bedford, in consideration of the eminent services rendered by his father and grandfather to Charles II.

Moyer,¹ who is at liberty, and is to give 500*l.* for his liberty ; but now the great ones are divided, who shall have the money, the Duke of Albemarle on one hand, and another Lord on the other ; and that it is fain to be decided by having the person's name put into the King's warrant for his liberty, at whose intercession the King shall own that he is set at liberty ; which is a most lamentable thing, that we do professedly own that we do these things, not for right and justice sake, but only to gratify this or that person about the King. God forgive us all ! Busy till the evening, and then with my wife and Jane over to half-way house,² a very good walk ; and there drank, and in the cool of the evening back again, and sang with pleasure upon the water, and were mightily pleased in hearing a boat-full of Spaniards sing. Jane of late mighty fine, by reason of a laced whiske her mistress hath given her, which makes her a very gracefull servant. But, above all, my wife and I were the most surprised in the beauty of a plain girle, which we met in the little lane going from Redriffe-stairs into the fields, one of the prettiest faces that we think we ever saw in our lives.

8th. Mr. Coventry is come from Bredah, as was expected ; but, contrary to expectation, brings with him two or three articles which do not please the King : as, to retrench the Act of Navigation, and then to ascertain what are contraband goods ; and then that those exiled persons, who are or shall take

¹ See vol. i. Dec. 1, 1661. *

² Probably the Jamaica House. See 14th April, 1667, *ante*.

refuge in their country, may be secure from any further prosecution. Whether these will be enough to break the peace upon, or no, he cannot tell ; but I perceive the certainty of peace is blown over. So called on my wife and to Charing Cross, there to see the great boy and girle that are lately come out of Ireland, the latter eight, the former but four years old, of most prodigious bigness for their age. I tried to weigh them in my arms, and find them twice as heavy as people almost twice their age ; and yet I am apt to believe they are very young. Their father a little sorry fellow, and their mother an old Irish woman. They have had four children of this bigness, and four of ordinary growth, whereof two of each are dead. If, as my Lord Ormond certifies, it be true that they are no older, it is very monstrous.

9th. This day my Lord Anglesey, our new Treasurer, came the first time to the Board ; and I do perceive he is a very notable man, and understanding, and will do things regular, and understand them himself, not trust Fenn, as Sir G. Carteret did, and will solicit soundly for money, which I do fear was Sir G. Carteret's fault, that he did not do that enough, considering the age we live in. This evening comes news for certain that the Dutch are with their fleete before Dover, and that it is expected they will attempt something there. The business of the peace is quite dashed again, so as now it is doubtful whether the King will condescend to what the Dutch demand, it being so near a Parliament, it being a thing that will,

it may be, recommend him to them when they shall find that the not having of a peace lies on his side by denying some of their demands. This morning Captain Clerke (Robin Clerke) was at the table, now commands the Monmouth, and did when the enemy passed the chaine at Chatham the other day, who said publickly at the table that he did admire at the order when it was brought him for sinking of the Monmouth, to the endangering of the ship, and spoiling of all her provisions, when her number of men were upon her that he could have carried her up the River whither he pleased, and have been a guard to the rest, and could have sunk her at any time. He did carry 100 barrels of powder out of the ship to save it after the orders came for the sinking her. He knew no reason at all, he declares, that could lead them to order the sinking her, nor the rest of the great ships that were sunk, but above all admires they would turn them on shore and sink them there, when it had been better to have sunk them long way in the middle of the River, for then they would not have burned them so low as now they did.

10th. This day our girle Mary, whom Payne helped us to, to be under his daughter, when she came to be our cook-mayde, did go away declaring that, she must be where she might earn something one day, and spend it and play away the next. But a good civil wench, and one neither wife nor I did ever give angry word to, but she has a silly vanity that she must play.

11th. Up betimes and to my office, and there busy

till the office met, which was only Sir T. Harvey and myself. He tells me that the Council last night did sit close to determine of the King's answer about the peace, and that though he do not certainly know, yet by all discourse yesterday he do believe it is peace, and that the King had said it should be peace, and had been with Alderman Backwell to declare it upon the 'Change. It is high time for us to have peace that the King and Council may get up their credits and have time to do it, for that indeed is the bottom of all our misery, that nobody has any so good opinion of the King and his Council and their advice as to lend money or venture their persons, or estates, or pains upon people that they know cannot thrive with all that we can do, but either by their corruption or negligence must be undone. This indeed is the very bottom of every man's thought, and the certain grounds that we must be ruined unless the King changes his course, or the Parliament come and alter it. At noon dined alone with my wife. All the afternoon close at the office, very hard at gathering papers and putting things in order against the Parliament, in hopes to have all things in my office in good condition in a little time for any body to examine, which I am sure none else will.

12th. Up betimes, and by and by comes Greeting and begun a new month with him, and now to learn to set anything from the notes upon the flageolet, but, Lord! to see how like a fool he goes about to give me direction would make a man mad. I out by coach

to White Hall and to the Treasury chamber, where did a little business. Met at White Hall with Sir H. Cholmly, he telling me that undoubtedly the peace is concluded ; for he did stand yesterday where he did hear part of the discourse at the Council table, and there did hear the King argue for it. Among other things, that the spirits of the seamen were down, and the forces of our enemies are grown too great and many for us, and he would not have his subjects overpressed ; for he knows an Englishman would do as much as any man upon hopeful terms ; but where he sees he is overpressed, he despairs as soon as any other ; and, besides that, they have already such a load of dejection upon them, that they will not be in temper a good while again. He heard my Lord Chancellor say to the King, "Sir," says he, "the whole world do complain publickly of treachery, that things have been managed falsely by some of your great ministers. Sir," says he, "I am for your Majesty's falling into a speedy enquiry into the truth of it, and, where you meet with it, punish it. But, at the same time, consider what you have to do, and make use of your time for having a peace ; for more money will not be given without much trouble, nor is it, I fear, to be had of the people, nor will a little do it to put us into condition of doing our business." But the other day Sir H. Cholmly tells me he [the Chancellor] did say at his table, "Treachery !" says he ; "I could wish we could prove there was anything of that sort in it ; for that would imply some wit and thoughtful-

ness ; but we are ruined merely by folly and neglect." And so they did all argue for peace, and so he do believe that the King hath agreed to the three points Mr. Coventry brought over, which I have mentioned before, and is gone with them back. He tells me further that the Duke of Buckingham was before the Council the other day, and there did carry it very submissively and pleasingly to the King ; but to my Lord Arlington, who did prosecute the business, he was most bitter and sharp, and very slighting. As to the letter about his employing a man to cast the King's nativity, says he to the King, "Sir, this is none of my hand, and I refer it to your Majesty whether you do not know this hand." The King answered, that it was indeed none of his, and that he knew whose it was, but could not recall it presently. "Why," says he, "it is my sister of Richmond's,¹ some frolick or other of her's about some certain person ; and there is nothing of the King's name in it, but it is only said to be his by supposition, as is said." The King, it seems, was not very much displeased with what the Duke had said ; but, however, he is still in the Tower, and no discourse of his being out in haste, though my Lady Castlemaine hath so far solicited for him that the King and she are quite fallen out : he comes not to her, nor hath for some three or four days ; and parted with very foul words, the King calling her a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do

¹ See note, April 21, 1662.

with at all : and she calling him a fool ; and told him if he was not a fool, he would not suffer his businesses to be carried on by fellows that did not understand them, and cause his best subjects, and those best able to serve him, to be imprisoned ; meaning the Duke of Buckingham. And it seems she was not only for his liberty, but to be restored to all his places ; which, it is thought, he will never be. It was computed that the Parliament had given the King for this war only, besides all prizes, and beside the 200,000*l.* which he was to spend of his own revenue, to guard the sea above 5,000,000*l.* and odd 100,000*l.* ; which is a most prodigious sum. Sir H. Cholmly, as a true English gentleman, do decry the King's expenses of his Privy-purse, which in King James's time did not rise to above 5,000*l.* a-year, and in King Charles's to 10,000*l.*, do now cost us above 100,000*l.*, besides the great charge of the monarchy, as the Duke of York 100,000*l.* of it, and other limbs of the Royal family, and the guards, which, for his part, says he, " I would have all disbanded, for the King is not the better by them, and would be as safe without them ; for we have had no rebellions to make him fear anything." But, contrarily, he is now raising of a land army, which this Parliament and kingdom will never bear ; besides, the commanders they put over them are such as will never be able to raise or command them ; but the design is, and the Duke of York, he says, is hot for it, to have a land-army, and so to make the government like that of France, but our princes have not brains, or at least

care and forecast enough to do that. It is strange how every body do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him ; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time. Thence he set me down at my Lord Crew's and I up to my Lord, where Sir Thomas Crew was. Here was my Lord Hinchinbroke also, newly come from Hinchinbroke, where all well, but methinks I knowing in what case he stands for money by his demands to me and the report Mr. Moore gives of the management of the family, makes me, God forgive me ! to condemn him, though I do really honour and pity them, though they deserve it not, that have so good an estate and will live beyond it. To dinner, and very good discourse with my Lord. Sir Thomas Crew tells me how I am mightily in esteem with the Parliament ; there being harangues made in the House to the Speaker, of Mr. Pepys's readiness and civility to show them every thing, which I am at this time very glad of. Thence, after dinner home, and there find my wife in a dogged humour for my not dining at home, and I did give her a pull by the nose and some ill words, which she provoked me to by something she spoke, that we fell extraordinarily out, insomuch, that I going to the

office to avoid further anger, she followed me in a devilish manner thither, and with much ado I got her into the garden out of hearing, to prevent shame, and so home, and by degrees I found it necessary to calme her, and did, and then to the office, where pretty late, and then to walk with her in the garden, and pretty good friends, and so to bed with my mind very quiet.

13th. Mighty hot weather, I lying this night, which I have not done, I believe, since a boy, with only a rugg and a sheet upon me. Mr. Pierce tells us what troubles me, that my Lord Buckhurst hath got Nell away from the King's house, and gives her 100*l.* a year, so as she hath sent her parts to the house, and will act no more. And yesterday Sir Thomas Crew told me that Lacy lies a-dying; nor will receive any ghostly advice from a Bishop, an old acquaintance of his, that went to see him. My wife and I to the New Exchange, to pretty mayde Mrs. Smith's shop, where I left my wife, and I mightily pleased with this Mrs. Smith, being a very pleasant woman. It is an odd and sad thing to say, that though this be a peace worse than we had before, yet every body's fear almost is, that the Dutch will not stand by their promise, now the King hath consented to all they would have. And yet no wise man that I meet with, when he comes to think of it, but wishes, with all his heart, a war; but that the King is not a man to be trusted with the management of it. It was pleasantly said by a man in this City, a stranger, to one that told him

that the peace was concluded, "Well," says he, "and have you a peace?" — "Yes," says the other. — "Why, then," says he, "hold your peace!" partly reproaching us with the disgracefulness of it, that it is not fit to be mentioned; and next, that we are not able to make the Dutch keep it, when they have a mind to break it. Sir Thomas Crew yesterday, speaking of the King of France, how great a man he is, why, says he, all the world thought that when the last Pope died,¹ there would have been such bandying between the Crowns of France and Spain, whereas, when he was asked what he would have his ministers at Rome do, why, says he, let them choose who they will; if the Pope will do what is fit, the Pope and I will be friends. If he will not, I will take a course with him: therefore, I will not trouble myself; and thereupon the election² was despatched in a little time — I think in a day, and all ended.

14th (Lord's-day). Up, and my wife, a little before four, and to make us ready; and by and by Mrs. Turner came to us, by agreement, and she and I staid talking below, while my wife dressed herself, which vexed me that she was so long about it, keeping us till past five o'clock before she was ready. She ready; and, taking some bottles of wine, and beer, and some cold fowle with us into the coach, we took coach and four horses, which I had provided last night, and so away. A very fine day, and so towards Epsom, talk-

¹ Alexander VII. He died 22nd May, 1667, N.S.

² Of Clement IX., Giulio Rospigliosi, elected 20th June, 1667, N.S.

ing all the way pleasantly, and particularly of the pride and ignorance of Mrs. Lowther, in having of her train carried up.¹ The country very fine, only the way very dusty. To Epsum, by eight o'clock, to the well ; where much company, and I drank the water : they did not, but I did drink four pints. And to the towne, to the King's Head ; and hear that my Lord Buckhurst and Nelly are lodged at the next house, and Sir Charles Sedley with them : and keep a merry house. Poor girl ! I pity her ; but more the loss of her at the King's house. W. Hewer rode with us, and I left him and the women, and myself walked to the church, where few people to what I expected, and none I knew, but all the Houblons, brothers, and them after sermon I did salute, and walk with towards my inne. James did tell me that I was the only happy man of the Navy, of whom, he says, during all this freedom the people hath taken to speaking treason, he hath not heard one bad word of me, which is a great joy to me ; for I hear the same of others, but do know that I have deserved as well as most. We parted to meet anon, and I to my women into a better room, which the people of the house borrowed for us, and there to a good dinner, and were merry, and Pembleton came to us, who happened to be in the house, and there talked and were merry. After dinner, he gone, we all lay down, the day being wonderful hot, to sleep, and each of us took a good nap, and then rose ; and here Tom Wilson

¹ See 28th June, *ante*.

came to see me, and sat and talked an hour ; and I perceive he hath been much acquainted with Dr. Fuller (Tom) and Dr. Pierson, and several of the great cavalier parsons during the late troubles ; and I was glad to hear him talk of them, which he did very ingenuously, and very much of Dr. Fuller's art of memory, which he did tell me several instances of. By and by he parted, and we took coach and to take the ayre, there being a fine breeze abroad ; and I carried them to the well, and there filled some bottles of water to carry home with me ; and there I talked with the two women that farm the well, at 12*l.* per annum, of the lord of the manor. Mr. Evelyn¹ with his lady, and also my Lord George Barkeley's lady,² and their fine daughter, that the King of France liked so well, and did dance so rich in jewells before the King at the Ball I was at, at our Court, last winter, and also their son,³ a Knight of the Bath, were at church this morning. Here W. Hewer's horse broke loose, and we had the sport to see him taken again. Then I carried them to see my cozen Pepys's house, and 'light, and walked round about it, and they like it, as indeed it deserves, very well, and is a pretty place ; and then I walked them to the wood hard by, and there got them in the thickets till they had lost themselves, and I could not

¹ This was probably Richard Evelyn, of Woodcote Park, near Epsom, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of George Mynne, Esq., of Horton in Epsom, both of which places belonged to her.

² Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of John Massingberd.

³ Charles, eldest son, summoned to Parliament as Baron Berkeley, *vita patris*, 1680. Ob. 1710; having succeeded his father in the Earldom, 1698.

find the way into any of the walks in the wood, which indeed are very pleasant, if I could have found them. At last got out of the wood again ; and I, by leaping down the little bank, coming out of the wood, did sprain my right foot, which brought me great present pain, but presently, with walking, it went away for the present, and so the women and W. Hewer and I walked upon the Downes, where a flock of sheep was ; and the most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life. We found a shepherd and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the Bible to him ; so I made the boy read to me, which he did, with the forced tone that children do usually read, that was mighty pretty, and then I did give him something, and went to the father, and talked with him ; and I find he had been a servant in my cozen Pepys's house, and told me what was become of their old servants. He did content himself mightily in my liking his boy's reading, and did bless God for him, the most like one of the old patriarchs that ever I saw in my life, and it brought those thoughts of the old age of the world in my mind for two or three days after. We took notice of his woolen knit stockings of two colours mixed, and of his shoes shod with iron, both at the toe and heels, and with great nails in the soles of his feet, which was mighty pretty : and, taking notice of them, "Why," says the poor man, "the downes, you see, are full of stones, and we are faine to shoe ourselves thus ; and these," says he, "will make the stones fly till they ring before me." I did give the poor man something,

for which he was mighty thankful, and I tried to cast stones with his horne crooke. He values his dog mightily, that would turn a sheep any way which he would have him, when he goes to fold them : told me there was about eighteen score sheep in his flock, and that he hath four shillings a week the year round for keeping of them : and Mrs. Turner, in the common fields here, did gather one of the prettiest nosegays that ever I saw in my life. So to our coach, and through Mrs. Minnes's wood, and looked upon Mr. Evelyn's house ; and so over the common, and through Epsum towne to our inne, in the way stopping a poor woman with her milk-pail, and in one of my gilt tumblers did drink our bellyfulls of milk, better than any creame ; and so to our inne, and there had a dish of creame, but it was sour, and so had no pleasure in it ; and so paid our reckoning, and took coach, it being about seven at night, and passed and saw the people walking with their wives and children to take the ayre, and we set out for home, the sun by and by going down, and we in the cool of the evening all the way with much pleasure home, talking and pleasing ourselves with the pleasure of this day's work. Mrs. Turner mightily pleased with my resolution, which, I tell her, is never to keep a country-house, but to keep a coach, and with my wife on the Saturday to go sometimes for a day to this place, and then quit to another place ; and there is more variety and as little charge, and no trouble, as there is in a country-house. Anon it grew dark, and we had the pleasure to see several

glow-wormes, which was mighty pretty, but my foot begins more and more to pain me, which Mrs. Turner, by keeping her warm hand upon it, did much ease ; but so that when we come home, which was just at eleven at night, I was not able to walk from the lane's end to my house without being helped. So to bed, and there had a cere-cloth laid to my foot, but in great pain all night long.

15th. I was not able to go to-day to wait on the Duke of York with my fellows, but was forced in bed to write the particulars for their discourse there. Anon comes Mrs. Turner, and new-dressed my foot, and did it so, that I was at much ease presently. Our poor Jane very sad for the death of her poor brother, who hath left a wife and two small children. I did give her 20s. in money, and what wine she needed, for the burying him.

16th. To the Office without pain, and there sat all the morning.

17th. Home, where I am saluted with the news of Hogg's bringing a rich Canary prize to Hull : and Sir W. Batten do offer me 1,000*l.* down for my particular share, beside Sir Richard Ford's part, which do tempt me ; but yet I would not take it, but will stand and fall with the Company. He and two more, the Panther and Fanfan, did enter into consortship ; and so they have all brought in each a prize, though our's worth as much as both their's, and more. However, it will be well worth having, God be thanked for it ! This news makes us all very glad. I at Sir W. Batten's did

hear the particulars of it ; and there for joy he did give the company that were there a bottle or two of his own last year's wine, growing at Walthamstow, than which the whole company said they never drank better foreign wine in their lives. The Duke of Buckingham is, it seems, set at liberty, without any further charge against him or other clearing of him, but let to go out ; which is one of the strangest instances of the fool's play with which all publick things are done in this age, that is to be apprehended. And it is said that when he was charged with making himself popular — as indeed he is, for many of the discontented Parliament, Sir Robert Howard, and Sir Thomas Meres, and others, did attend at the Council-chamber when he was examined — he should answer, that whoever was committed to prison by my Lord Chancellor or my Lord Arlington, could not want being popular. But it is worth considering the ill state a Minister of State is in, under such a Prince as our's is ; for, undoubtedly, neither of those two great men would have been so fierce against the Duke of Buckingham at the Council-table the other day, had they not been assured of the King's good liking, and supporting them therein : whereas, perhaps at the desire of my Lady Castlemaine, who, I suppose, hath at last overcome the King, the Duke of Buckingham is well received again, and now these men delivered up to the interest he can make for his revenge. He told me over the story of Mrs. Stewart, much after the manner which I was told it by Mr. Evelyn ; only he says it is verily believed that

the King did never intend to marry her to any but himself, and that the Duke of York and Lord Chancellor were jealous of it; and that Mrs. Stewart might be got with child by the King, or somebody else, and the King own a marriage before his contract, for it is but a contract, as he tells me, to this day, with the Queen, and so wipe their noses of the Crown; and that, therefore, the Duke of York and Chancellor did do all they could to forward the match with my Lord Duke of Richmond, that she might be married out of the way; but, above all, it is a worthy part that this good lady hath acted. My sister Michell¹ came from Lee² to see us; but do tattle so much of the late business of the Dutch coming thither that I was weary of it. Yet it is worth remembering what she says: that she hath heard both seamen and soldiers swear they would rather serve the Dutch than the King, for they should be better used.³ She saw "The Royal Charles" brought into the river by them; and how they shot off their great guns for joy, when they got her out of Chatham River. I would not forget that this very day when we had nothing to do almost but five merchantmen to man in the River, which have now been about it some weeks, I was asked at West-

¹ The wife of Balthazar St. Michel, Mrs. Pepys's brother.

² Leigh, opposite to Sheerness.

³ "Our seamen, whom no danger's shape could fright,
Unpay'd, refuse to mount their ships for spite;
Or to their fellows swim on board the Dutch,
Who shew the tempting metal in their clutch."

ANDREW MARVEL'S *Instructions to a Painter*.

minster, what the matter was that there was such ado kept in pressing of men, as it seems there is thereabouts at this day.

18th. To the office, where busy all the morning, and most of our time taken up with Carcasse upon some complaints brought in against him, and many other petitions about tickets lost, which spends most of our time. Very well employed at the office till evening ; and then, being weary, took out my wife and Will Batelier by coach to Islington, but no pleasure in our going, the way being so dusty that one durst not breathe. Drank at the old house, and so home.

19th. Up and comes the flageolet master, and brings me two new great Ivory pipes which cost me 32s., and so to play, and he being done, I to Westminster and there did receive 15,000*l.* orders out of the Exchequer in part of a bigger sum upon the 11 months tax for Tangier. So home, and in my way by coach down Mark Lane, mightily pleased and smitten to see, as I thought, in passing, the pretty woman, the line-maker's wife that lived in Fenchurch Streete, and I had great mind to have gone back to have seen, but yet would correct my nature and would not. So to dinner with my wife, and then to sing, and so to the office, where busy all the afternoon late, and to Sir W. Batten's and to Sir R. Ford's, we all to consider about our great prize at Hull, being troubled at our being likely to be troubled with Prince Rupert, by reason of Hogg's consorting himself with two privaters of the Prince's, and so we study how to ease or

secure ourselves. One tells me that, by letter from Holland, the people there are made to believe that our condition in England is such as they may have whatever they will ask ; and that so they are mighty high, and despise us, or a peace with us : and there is too much reason for them to do so. The Dutch fleete are in great squadrons everywhere still about Harwich, and were lately at Portsmouth ; and the last letters say at Plymouth, and now gone to Dartmouth to destroy our Streights' fleete lately got in thither : but God knows whether they can do it any hurt, or no.

20th. Towards the 'Change, at noon, in my way observing my mistake yesterday in Mark Lane, that the woman I saw was not the pretty woman I meant, the line-maker's wife, but a new-married woman, very pretty, a strong-water seller : and in going by, to my content, I find that the very pretty daughter at the Ship tavern, at the end of Billiter Lane, is there still, and in the bar : and, I believe, is married to him that is new come, and hath new trimmed the house. Home to dinner, and then to the office, we having dispatched away Mr. Oviatt to Hull, about our prizes there ; and I have wrote a letter of thanks by him to Lord Bellassis, who had writ to me to offer all his service for my interest there, but I dare not trust him.

21st (Lord's day). Up betimes, and all the morning, and then all the afternoon in like manner, in my chamber, making up my Tangier accounts and drawing a letter, which I have done at last to my full content, to present to the Lords Commissioners for

Tangier to-morrow; and about 7 o'clock I and my wife and Mercer up by water to Barne Elmes, where we walked by moonshine, and called at Lambeth, and drank and had cold meat in the boat, and did eat, and sang, and down home, by almost twelve at night, very fine and pleasant, only could not sing ordinary songs with the freedom that otherwise I would. Here Mercer tells me that the pretty maid of the Ship tavern is married there, which I am glad of. So having spent this night, with much serious pleasure to consider that I am in a condition to fling away an angel¹ in such a refreshment to myself and family, we home and to bed, leaving Mercer, by the way, at her own door.

22nd. Up to my Lord Chancellor's, where was a Committee of Tangier in my Lord's roome, where he sits to hear causes, and where all the Judges' pictures hung up,² very fine. Here I read my letter to them, which was well received, and they did fall seriously to discourse the want of money and other particulars, and to some pretty good purpose. But to see how Sir W. Coventry did oppose both my Lord Chancellor and the Duke of York himself, about the Order of the Commissioners of the Treasury to me for not paying of pensions, and with so much reason, and eloquence so natural, was admirable. And another

¹ The ancient English gold coin, of the value of ten shillings.

² See Lady Theresa Lewis's "*Lives of the Friends and Contemporaries of Lord Chancellor Clarendon; illustrative of Portraits in his Gallery*," 1852. 3 vols. 8vo.

thing, about his pressing for the reduction of the charge of Tangier, which they would have put off to another time ; “ But,” says he, “ the King suffers so much by the putting off of the consideration of reductions of charge, that he is undone ; and therefore I do pray you, sir,” to his Royal Highness, “ that when any thing offers of the kind, you will not let it escape you.” Here was a great bundle of letters brought hither, sent up from sea, from a vessel of ours that hath taken them after they had been flung over by a Dutchman ; wherein, among others, the Duke of York did read the superscription of one to De Witt, thus — “ To the most wise, foreseeing and discreet, These, &c. ;” which, I thought with myself, I could have been glad might have been duly directed to any one of them at the table, though the greatest men in this kingdom. The Duke of York, the Lord Chancellor, my Lord Duke of Albemarle, Arlington, Ashley, Peterborough, and Coventry, the best of them all for parts, I perceive they do all profess their expectation of a peace, and that suddenly. Sir W. Coventry did declare his opinion that if Tangier were offered us now, as the King’s condition is, he would advise against the taking it ; saying, that the King’s charge is too great, and must be brought down, it being, like the fire of this City, never to be mastered till you have brought it under you ; and that these places abroad are but so much charge to the King, and we do rather hitherto strive to greatten them than lessen them ; and then the King is forced to part with them, “ as,” says he,

“he did with Dunkirke, by my Lord Teviott’s making it so chargeable to the King as he did that, and would have done Tangier, if he had lived.” I perceive he is the only man that do seek the King’s profit, and is bold to deliver what he thinks on every occasion. With much pleasure reflecting upon our discourse to-day at the Tangier meeting, and crying up the worth of Sir W. Coventry. Creed tells me of the fray between the Duke of Buckingham at the Duke’s play-house the last Saturday, (and it is the first day I have heard that they have acted at either the King’s or Duke’s houses this month or six weeks) and Henry Killigrew, whom the Duke of Buckingham did soundly beat and take away his sword, and make a fool of, till the fellow prayed him to spare his life ; and I am glad of it ; for it seems in this business the Duke of Buckingham did carry himself very innocently and well, and I wish he had paid this fellow’s coat well. I heard something of this at the ’Change to-day : and it is pretty to hear how people do speak kindly of the Duke of Buckingham, as one that will enquire into faults ; and therefore they do mightily favour him. And it puts me in mind that, this afternoon, Billing, the Quaker, meeting me in the Hall, came to me, and after a little discourse did say, “Well,” says he, “now you will be all called to an account ;” meaning the Parliament is drawing near.

23rd. To the office, doing something towards our great account to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and anon the office sat, and all the morning

doing business. In the evening Sir R. Ford is come back from the Prince and tells Sir W. Batten and me how basely Sir W. Pen received our letter we sent him about the prizes at Hull, and slily answered him about the Prince's leaving all his concerns to him, but a very rogue he is. By and by comes sudden news to me by letter from the Clerke of the Cheque at Gravesend, that there were thirty sail of Dutch men-of-war coming up into the Hope this last tide : which I told Sir W. Pen of ; but he would not believe it, but laughed, and said it was a fleete of Billanders [coasters], and that the guns that were heard was the salutation of the Swede's Ambassador that comes over with them. But within half an hour comes another letter from Captain Proud, that eight of them were come into the Hope, and thirty more following them, at ten this morning. By and by comes an order from White Hall to send down one of our number to Chatham, fearing that, as they did before, they may make a show first up hither, but then go to Chatham : so my Lord Brouncker do go, and we here are ordered to give notice to the merchant men-of-war, gone below the barricado at Woolwich, to come up again.

24th. Betimes this morning comes a letter from the Clerke of the Cheque at Gravesend to me, to tell me that the Dutch fleete did come all into the Hope yesterday noon, and held a fight with our ships from thence till seven at night ; that they had burned twelve fire-ships, and we took one of their's, and burned five of our fire-ships. But then rising and going to Sir W.

Batten, he tells me that we have burned one of their men-of-war, and another of their's is blown up : but how true this is, I know not. But these fellows are mighty bold, and have had the fortune of the wind easterly this time to bring them up, and prevent our troubling them with our fire-ships ; and, indeed, have had the winds at their command from the beginning, and now do take the beginning of the spring, as if they had some great design to do. I to my office, and there hard at work all the morning, to my great content, abstracting the contract book into my abstract book, which I have by reason of the war omitted for above two years, but now am endeavouring to have all my books ready and perfect against the Parliament comes, that upon examination I may be in condition to value myself upon my perfect doing of my own duty. At noon home to dinner, where my wife mighty musty, but I took no notice of it, but after dinner to the office, and there with Mr. Harper did another good piece of work about my late collection of the accounts of the Navy presented to the Parliament at their session, which was left unfinished, and now I have done it, which sets my mind at my ease, and so, having tired myself, I took a pair of oares about five o'clock down to Gravesend, all the way with extraordinary content reading of Boyle's Hydrostatickes, which the more I read and understand, the more I admire, as a most excellent piece of philosophy ; and as we come nearer Gravesend, we hear the Dutch fleete and our's a-firing their guns most

distinctly and loud. So I landed, and discoursed with the landlord of the Ship, who undeceives me in what I heard this morning about the Dutch having lost two men-of-war, for it is not so, but several of their fire-ships. He do say, that this afternoon they did force our ships to retreat, but that now they are gone down as far as Shield-haven :¹ but what the event hath been of this evening's guns they know not, but suppose not much, for they have all this while shot at good distance one from another. They seem confident of the security of this town and the River above it, if the enemy should come up so high ; their fortifications being so good, and guns many. But he do say that people do complain of Sir Edward Spragg, that he hath not done extraordinary ; and more of Sir W. Jenings, that he came up with his tamkins² in his guns. Having eat a bit of cold venison and drank, I away, took boat, and homeward again, with great pleasure, the moon shining, and it being a fine pleasant cool evening, and got home by half-past twelve at night, and so to bed.

25th. At night Sir W. Batten, W. Pen, and myself, and Sir R. Ford, did meet in the garden to discourse about our prizes at Hull. It appears that Hogg is the veriest rogue, the most observable embezzler, that ever was known. This vexes us, and made us very free and plain with Sir W. Pen, who hath been his great patron, and as very a rogue as he. But he do

¹ Shellhaven, on the Essex coast, opposite to Cliffe, on the Kentish side.

² Tamkin, or tampion, the stopple of a great gun.

now seem to own that his opinion is changed of him, and that he will joyne with us in our strictest inquiries, and did sign to the letters we had drawn, which he had refused before, and so seemingly parted good friends. I demanded of Sir R. Ford and the rest, what passed to-day at the meeting of Parliament : who told me that, contrary to all expectation by the King that there would be but a thin meeting, there met above 300 this first day, and all the discontented party ; and, indeed, the whole House seems to be no other almost. The Speaker told them, as soon as they were sat, that he was ordered by the King to let them know he was hindered by some important business to come to them and speak to them, as he intended ; and, therefore, ordered him to move that they would adjourn themselves till Monday next, it being very plain to all the House that he expects to hear by that time of the sealing of the peace, which by letters, it seems, from my Lord Hollis, was to be sealed the last Sunday.¹ But before they would come to the question whether they would adjourn, Sir Thomas Tomkins steps up and tells them, that all the country is grieved at this new-raised standing army ; and that they thought themselves safe enough in their trayn-bands ; and that, therefore, he desired that the King might be moved to disband them. Then rises Garraway and seconds him, only with this explanation, which he said he believed the other meant ; that, as soon as peace

¹ The peace was signed on the 31st: see 9th August, *post*.

should be concluded, they might be disbanded. Then rose Sir W. Coventry, and told them that he did approve of what the last gentleman said ; but also, that at the same time he did no more than what, he durst be bold to say, he knew to be the King's mind, that as soon as peace was concluded he would do it of himself. Then rose Sir Thomas Littleton, and did give several reasons for the uncertainty of their meeting again but to adjourne, in case news comes of the peace being ended before Monday next, and the possibility of the King's having some about him that may endeavour to alter his own, and the good part of his Council's advice, for the keeping up of the land-army ; and, therefore, it was fit that they did present it to the King as their desire, that, as soon as peace was concluded, the land-army might be laid down, and that this their request might be carried to the King by them of their House that were Privy-councillors ; which was put to the vote, and carried *nemine contradicente*. So after this vote passed, they adjourned : but it is plain what the effects of this Parliament will be, if they be suffered to sit, that they will fall foul upon the faults of the Government ; and I pray God they may be permitted to do it, for nothing else, I fear, will save the King and kingdom than the doing it betimes.

26th. No news at all this day what we have done to the enemy, but that the enemy is fallen down, and we after them, but to little purpose.

27th. To the office, where I hear that Sir John

Coventry¹ is come over from Bredah, a nephew, I think, of Sir W. Coventry's: but what message he brings I know not. This morning news is come that Sir Jos. Jordan is come from Harwich, with sixteen fire-ships and four other little ships of war: and did attempt to do some execution upon the enemy, but did it without discretion, as most do say, so as they have been able to do no good, but have lost four of their fire-ships. They attempted this, it seems, when the wind was too strong, that our grapplings could not hold: others say we came to leeward of them, but all condemn it as a foolish management. They are come to Sir Edward Spragg about Lee, and the Dutch are below at the Nore. At the office all the morning; and at noon to the 'Change, where I met Fenn; and he tells me that Sir John Coventry do bring the confirmation of the peace; but I do not find the 'Change at all glad of it, but rather the worse, they looking upon it as a peace made only to preserve the King for a time in his lusts and ease, and to sacrifice trade and his kingdoms only to his own pleasures: so that the hearts of merchants are quite down. He tells me that the King and my Lady Castlemaine are quite broke off, and she is gone away, and is with child, and

¹ Created K. B. at Charles II.'s coronation, and M. P. for Weymouth in several Parliaments. He was the son of John Coventry, the eldest brother of Sir W. Coventry; and the outrage committed on his person, on the 21st December, 1670, by Sir Thomas Sandys, O'Bryan, and others, who cut his nose to the bone, gave rise to the passing of the Bill still known by the name of *The Coventry Act*, under which persons so offending were to suffer death.

swears the King shall own it ;¹ and she will have it christened in the Chapel at White Hall so, and owned for the King's, as other Kings have done ; or she will bring it into White Hall gallery, and dash the brains of it out before the King's face. He tells me that the King and Court were never in the world so bad as they are now for gaming, swearing, women, and drinking, and the most abominable vices that ever were in the world ; so that all must come to nought. He told me that Sir G. Carteret was at this end of the town : so I went to visit him in Broad Street ; and there he and I together : and he is mightily pleased with my Lady Jem's having a son ; and a mighty glad man he is. He [Sir George Carteret] tells me, as to news, that the peace is now confirmed, and all that over. He says it was a very unhappy motion in the House the other day about the land-army ; for, whether the King hath a mind of his own to do the thing desired or no, his doing it will be looked upon as a thing done only in fear of the Parliament. He says that the Duke of York is suspected to be the great man that is for raising of this army, and bringing things to be commanded by an army ; but that he do know that he is wronged therein. He do say that the Court is in a way to ruin all for their pleasures ; and says that he himself hath once taken the liberty to tell the King

¹ Charles owned only four children by Lady Castlemaine — Anne, Countess of Sussex, and the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland. The last of these was born in 1665. The paternity of all her other children was certainly doubtful. See 30th July, *post*.

the necessity of having, at least, a show of religion in the Government, and sobriety ; and that it was that, that did set up and keep up Oliver, though he was the greatest rogue in the world, and that it is so fixed in the nature of the common Englishman that it will not out of him. He tells me that while all should be labouring to settle the kingdom, they are at Court all in factions, some for and others against my Lord Chancellor, and another for and against another man, and the King adheres to no man, but this day delivers himself up to this, and the next to that, to the ruin of himself and business ; that he is at the command of any woman like a slave, though he be the best man to the Queen in the world, with so much respect, and never lies a night from her : but yet cannot command himself in the presence of a woman he likes. It raining this day all day to our great joy, it having not rained, I think, this month before, so as the ground was everywhere so burned and dry as could be ; and no travelling in the road or streets in London, for dust.

28th. All the morning close, to draw up a letter to Sir W. Coventry upon the tidings of peace, taking occasion, before I am forced to it, to resign up to his Royall Highness my place of the Victualling, and to recommend myself to him by promise of doing my utmost to improve this peace in the best manner we may, to save the kingdom from ruin.

29th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to St. James's, to Sir W. Coventry's chamber ; where, among other

things, he came to me, and told me that he had received my yesterday's letters, and that we concurred very well in our notions ; and that, as to my place which I had offered to resign of the Victualling, he had drawn up a letter at the same time for the Duke of York's signing for the like places in general raised during this war ; and that he had done me right to the Duke of York, to let him know that I had, of my own accord, offered to resign mine. The letter do bid us to do all things, particularizing several, for the laying up of the ships, and easing the King of charge ; so that the war is now professedly over. By and by up to the Duke of York's chamber ; and there all the talk was about Jordan's coming with so much indiscretion, with his four little frigates and sixteen fire-ships from Harwich, to annoy the enemy. His failures were of several sorts, I know not which the truest : that he came with so strong a gale of wind, that his grapplings would not hold ; that he did come by their lee ; whereas if he had come athwart their hawse, they would have held ; that they did not stop a tide, and come up with a windward tide, and then they would not have come so fast. Now, there happened to be Captain Jenifer by, who commanded the Lily in this business, and thus says : that, finding the Dutch not so many as they expected, they did not know that there were more of them above, and so were not so earnest to the setting upon these ; that they did do what they could to make the fire-ships fall in among the enemy ; and, for their lives, neither Sir J. Jordan

nor others could, by shooting several times at them, make them go in ; and it seems they were commanded by some idle fellows, such as they could of a sudden gather up at Harwich ; which is a sad consideration that, at such a time as this, where the saving the reputation of the whole nation lay at stake, and after so long a war, the King had not credit to gather a few able men to command these vessels. He says, that if they had come up slower, the enemy would, with their boats and their great sloops, which they have to row with a great many men, and did, come and cut up several of our fire-ships, and would certainly have taken most of them, for they do come with a great provision of these boats on purpose, and to save their men, which is bravely done of them, though they did, on this very occasion, show great fear, as they say, by some men leaping overboard out of a great ship, as these were all of them of sixty and seventy guns a-piece, which one of our fire-ships laid on board, though the fire did not take. But yet it is brave to see what care they do take to encourage their men to provide great stores of boats to save them, while we have not credit to find one boat for a ship. And, further, he told us that this new way used by Deane, and this Sir W. Coventry observed several times, of preparing of fire-ships, do not do the work ; for the fire, not being strong and quick enough to flame up, so as to take the rigging and sails, lies smothering a great while, half an hour before it flames, in which time they can get the fire-ship off safely, though,

which is uncertain, and did fail in one or two this bout, it do serve to burn our own ships. But what a shame it is to consider how two of our ships' companies did desert their ships for fear of being taken by their boats, our little frigates being forced to leave them, being chased by their greater ! And one more company did set their ship on fire, and leave her ; which afterwards a Feversham fisherman came up to, and put out the fire, and carried safe into Feversham, where she now is, which was observed by the Duke of York, and all the company with him, that it was only want of courage, and a general dismay and abjectness of spirit upon all our men ; and others did observe our ill management, and God Almighty's curse upon all that we have in hand, for never such an opportunity was of destroying so many good ships of their's as we now had. But to see how negligent we were in this business, that our fleete of Jordan's should not have any notice where Spragg was, nor Spragg of Jordan's, so as to be able to meet and join in the business, and help one another ; but Jordan, when he saw Spragg's fleete above, did think them to be another part of the enemy's fleete ! While, on the other side, notwithstanding our people at Court made such a secret of Jordan's design that nobody must know it, and even this Office itself must not know it ; nor for my part I did not, though Sir W. Batten says by others' discourse to him he had heard something of it ; yet De Ruyter, or he that commanded this fleete, had notice of it, and told it to a

fisherman of our's that he took and released on Thursday last, which was the day before our fleete came to him. But then, that, that seems most to our disgrace, and which the Duke of York did take special and vehement notice of, is, that when the Dutch saw so many fire-ships provided for them, themselves lying, I think, about the Nore, they did with all their great ships, with a North-east wind, as I take it they said, but whatever it was, it was a wind that we should not have done it with, turn down to the Middle-ground; which the Duke of York observed, never was nor would have been undertaken by ourselves. And whereas some of the company answered, it was their great fear, not their choice that made them do it, the Duke of York answered, that it was, it may be, their fear and wisdom that made them do it; but yet their fear did not make them mistake, as we should have done, when we have had no fear upon us, and have run our ships on ground. And this brought it into my mind, that they managed their retreat down this difficult passage, with all their fear, better than we could do ourselves in the main sea, when the Duke of Albemarle ran away from the Dutch, when the Prince was lost, and the Royal Charles and the other great ships came on ground upon the Galloper. Thus, in all things, in wisdom, courage, force, knowledge of our own streams, and success, the Dutch have the best of us, and do end the war with victory on their side. The Duke of York being ready, we into his closet, but, being in haste to go to the Parliament House, he

could not stay. So we parted, and to Westminster Hall, where the Hall full of people to see the issue of the day, the King being come to speak to the House to-day. One thing extraordinary was, this day a man, a Quaker,¹ came naked through the Hall, only very civilly tied about the loins to avoid scandal, and with a chafing-dish of fire and brimstone burning upon his head, did pass through the Hall, crying, "Repent ! repent !" Presently comes down the House of Commons, the King having made then a very short and no pleasing speech to them at all, not at all giving them thanks for their readiness to come up to town this busy time ; but told them that he did think he should have had occasion for them, but had none, and therefore did dismiss them to look after their own occasions till October ; and that he did wonder any should offer to bring in a suspicion that he intended to rule by an army, or otherwise than by the laws of the land, which

¹ In De Foe's fabulous "History of the Plague," 1665, he imagines a like case: — "Another ran about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, *Woe to Jerusalem!* a little before the destruction of that city. So this poor naked creature cried, *O, the great and the dreadful God!* and said no more, but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance, at least that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me or any one else; but held on his dismal cries continually." — p. 26. A good picture on this subject, painted by Mr. P. F. Poole, was exhibited by the Royal Academy, where the name of the enthusiast was given as Solomon Eagle, in 1843. It was engraved in the "Illustrated London News" for that year, p. 399. De Foe had probably heard of the Quaker.

he promised them he would do ; and so bade them go home and settle the minds of the country in that particular ; and only added, that he had made a peace which he did believe they would find reasonable, and a good peace, but did give them none of the particulars thereof. Thus they are dismissed again to their general great distaste, I believe the greatest that ever Parliament was, to see themselves so fooled, and the nation in certain condition of ruin, while the King, they see, is only governed by his lust, and women, and rogues about him. The Speaker, they found, was kept from coming in the morning to the House on purpose, till after the King was come to the House of Lords, for fear they should be doing anything in the House of Commons to the further dissatisfaction of the King and his courtiers. They do all give up the kingdom for lost that I speak to ; and do hear what the King says, how he and the Duke of York do do what they can to get up an army, that they may need no more Parliaments : and how my Lady Castlemaine hath, before the late breach between her and the King, said to the King that he must rule by an army, or all would be lost, and that Bab. May hath given the like advice to the King, to crush the English gentlemen, saying that 300*l.* a-year was enough for any man but them that lived at Court. I am told that many petitions were provided for the Parliament, complaining of the wrongs they have received from the Court and courtiers, in city and country, if the Parliament had but sat : and I do perceive they all do resolve to have

a good account of the money spent before ever they give a farthing more ; and the whole kingdom is everywhere sensible of their being abused, insomuch that they forced their Parliament-men to come up to sit ; and my cozen Roger told me that, but that was in mirth, he believed, if he had not come up, he should have had his house burned. The kingdom never in so troubled a condition in this world as now ; nobody pleased with the peace, and yet nobody daring wish for the continuance of the war, it being plain that nothing do or can thrive under us. Here I saw old good Mr. Vaughan,¹ and several of the great men of the Commons, and some of them old men, that are come 200 miles, and more, to attend this session of Parliament ; and have been at great charge and disappointments in their other private business ; and now all to no purpose, neither to serve their country, content themselves, nor receive any thanks from the King. It is verily expected by many of them that the King will continue the prorogation in October, so as, if it be possible, never to have this Parliament more. My Lord Bristoll took his place in the House of Lords this day, but not in his robes ; and when the King came in, he withdrew : but my Lord of Buckingham was there as brisk as ever, and sat in his robes ; which is a monstrous thing, that a man should be proclaimed against, and put in the Tower, and released without any trial, and yet not restored to his places. But,

¹ John Vaughan, M. P. for Cardiganshire.

above all, I saw my Lord Mordaunt as merry as the best, that it seems hath done such further indignities to Mr. Taylor¹ since the last sitting of Parliament as would hang him, if there were nothing else, would the King do what were fit for him ; but nothing of that is now likely to be. After having spent an hour or two in the hall, my cozen Roger and I and Creed to the Old Exchange, where I find all the merchants sad at this peace and breaking up of the Parliament, as men despairing of any good to the nation, which is a grievous consideration ; and so home. Cozen Roger and Creed to dinner with me, and very merry : but among other things they told me of the strange, bold sermon of Dr. Creeton yesterday, before the King ; how he preached against the sins of the Court, and particularly against adultery, over and over instancing how for that single sin in David, the whole nation was undone ; and of our negligence in having our castles without ammunition and powder when the Dutch came upon us ; and how we have no courage now-a-days, but let our ships be taken out of our harbour. Here Creed did tell us the story of the duell last night, in Covent-garden, between Sir H. Bellassis and Tom Porter. It is worth remembering the silliness of the quarrell, and is a kind of emblem of the general complexion of this whole kingdom at present. They two dined yesterday at Sir Robert Carr's,² where it seems

¹ See November 26, 1666, *ante*.

² Baronet, of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, and one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for that county.

people do drink high, all that come. It happened that these two, the greatest friends in the world, were talking together: and Sir H. Bellassis talked a little louder than ordinary to Tom Porter, giving of him some advice. Some of the company standing by said, "What! are they quarrelling, that they talk so high?" Sir H. Bellassis hearing it, said, "No!" says he: "I would have you know that I never quarrel, but I strike; and take that as a rule of mine!" "How?" says Tom Porter, "strike! I would I could see the man in England that durst give me a blow!" with that Sir H. Bellassis did give him a box of the eare; and so they were going to fight there, but were hindered. And by and by Tom Porter went out; and meeting Dryden the poet, told him of the business, and that he was resolved to fight Sir H. Bellassis presently; for he knew, if he did not, they should be friends to-morrow, and then the blow would rest upon him; which he would prevent, and desired Dryden to let him have his boy to bring him notice which way Sir H. Bellassis goes. By and by he is informed that Sir H. Bellassis's coach was coming: so Tom Porter went out of the Coffee-house where he staid for the tidings, and stopped the coach, and bade Sir H. Bellassis come out. "Why," says H. Bellassis, "you will not hurt me coming out, will you?" — "No," says Tom Porter. So out he went, and both drew: and H. Bellassis having drawn and flung away his scabbard, Tom Porter asked him whether he was ready? The other answering him he was, they fell to fight,

some of their acquaintance by. They wounded one another, and H. Bellassis so much that it is feared he will die : and finding himself severely wounded, he called to Tom Porter, and kissed him, and bade him shift for himself ; “ for,” says he, “ Tom, thou hast hurt me ; but I will make shift to stand upon my legs till thou mayest withdraw, and the world not take notice of you, for I would not have thee troubled for what thou hast done.” And so whether he did fly or no I cannot tell : but Tom Porter showed H. Bellassis that he was wounded too : and they are both ill, but H. Bellassis to fear of life. And this is a fine example ; and H. Bellassis a Parliament-man,¹ too, and both of them extraordinary friends ! Among other discourse, my cozen Roger told us a thing certain, that the Archbishop of Canterbury,² that now is, do keep a wench, and that he is as very a wencher as can be ; and tells us it is a thing publickly known that Sir Charles Sedley had got away one of the Archbishop’s wenches from him, and the Archbishop sent to him to let him know that she was his kinswoman, and did wonder that he would offer any dishonour to one related to him. To which Sir Charles Sedley is said to answer, “ Pray, tell his Grace that I believe he finds himself too old, and is afraid that I should outdo him among his girls, and spoil his trade.” But he makes no more of doubt to say that the Archbishop is a wencher, and known to be so, which is one of the

¹ He was serving for Grimsby.

² Gilbert Sheldon.

most astonishing things that I have heard of, unless it be, what for certain he says is true, that my Lady Castlemaine hath made a Bishop lately, namely, her uncle, Dr. Glenham,¹ who, I think they say, is Bishop of Carlisle ; a drunken, swearing rascal, and a scandal to the Church ; and do now pretend to be Bishop of Lincoln,² in competition with Dr. Raynbow,³ who is reckoned as worthy a man as most in the Church for piety and learning : which are things so scandalous to consider, that no man can doubt but we must be undone that hears of them. Cozen Roger did acquaint me in private with an offer made of his marrying of Mrs. Elizabeth Wiles, whom I know ; a kinswoman of Mr. Honiwood's, an ugly old maid, but a good housewife, and is said to have 2,500*l.* to her portion ; but if I can find that she hath but 2,000*l.*, which he prays me to examine, he says he will have her, she being one he hath long known intimately, and a good housewife, and discreet woman ; though I am against it in my heart, she being not handsome at all : and it hath been the very bad fortune of the Pepyses that ever I knew, never to marry an handsome woman, excepting Ned Pepys.⁴ To White Hall ; and looking out of the window into the garden, I saw the King,

¹ Henry Glenham, D.D., was Dean of Bristol in 1661; but he never was raised to the Bench.

² Lincoln was vacant by the translation of Benjamin Laney to Ely, on the 24th of May, previously. William Fuller, Bishop of Limerick, was made Bishop of Lincoln on the 17th September following.

³ Dr. Edward Rainbow was Bishop of Carlisle from 1664 to 1684.

⁴ Edward Pepys, of Broomsthorpe, who married Elizabeth Walpole. The author's own wife could not be included amongst the plain women whom the

whom I have not had any desire to see since the Dutch came upon the coast first to Sheerness, for shame that I should see him, or he me, methinks, after such a dishonour, come upon the garden ; with him two or three idle Lords ; and instantly after him, in another walk, my Lady Castlemaine, led by Bab. May : at which I was surprised, having but newly heard the stories of the King and her being parted for ever. So I took Mr. Povy, who was there, aside, and he told me all, — how imperious this woman is and hectors the King to whatever she will. It seems she is with child, and the King says he did not get it : with that she made a slighting puh with her mouth, and went out of the house, and never came in again till the King went to Sir Daniel Harvy's to pray her ; and so she is come to-day, when one would think his mind should be full of some other cares, having but this morning broken up such a Parliament, with so much discontent, and so many wants upon him, and but yesterday heard such a sermon against adultery. But it seems she hath told the King, that whoever did get it, he should own it ; and the bottom of the quarrel is this : — She is fallen in love with young Jermin,¹ who hath of late been with her oftener than the King, and is now going to marry my Lady Falmouth ;² the

Pepyses married? — it is otherwise well for his domestic peace that he wrote in cipher.

¹ Henry Jermyn, afterwards Earl of Dover; from whom Dover Street, Piccadilly, derives its name.

² Lady Falmouth remarried Charles Lord Buckhurst, afterwards the sixth Earl of Dorset.

King is mad at her entertaining Jermin, and she is mad at Jermin's going to marry from her : so they are all mad ; and thus the kingdom is governed ! But he tells me for certain that nothing is more sure than that the King, and Duke of York, and the Chancellor, are desirous and labouring all they can to get an army, whatever the King says to the Parliament ; and he believes that they are at last resolved to stand and fall all three together : so that he says in terms that the match of the Duke of York with the Chancellor's daughter hath undone the nation. He tells me also that the King hath not greater enemies in the world than those of his own family ; for there is not an officer in the house almost but curses him for letting them starve, and there is not a farthing of money to be raised for the buying them bread. To walk in the garden with my wife, telling her of my losing 300*l.* a year by my place that I am to part with, which do a little trouble me, but we must live with somewhat more thrift. Many guns were heard this afternoon, it seems, at White Hall and in the Temple garden very plain ; but what it should be nobody knows, unless the Dutch be driving our ships up the river. Tomorrow we shall know.

30th. Up and to the Office, where we sat busy all the morning. At noon to dinner, where Daniel and his wife with me to see whether I could get him any employment. But I am so far from it, that I have the trouble upon my mind how to dispose of Mr. Gibson and one or two more I am concerned for in the

Victualling business, which are now to be discharged. So to White Hall, to the Treasury-chamber, where I did speak with the Lords, and did my business about getting them to assent to 10 per cent. interest on the 11 months tax, but find them mightily put to it for money. Here I do hear that there are three Lords more to be added to them; my Lord Bridgewater, my Lord Anglesey, and my Lord Chamberlaine.¹ Thence with Creed to White Hall; in our way, meeting with Mr. Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, on horseback, who stopped to speak with us, and he proved very drunk, and did talk, and would have talked all night with us, I not being able to break loose from him, he holding me so by the hand. But, Lord! to see his present humour, how he swears at every word, and talks of the King and my Lady Castlemaine in the plainest words in the world. And from him I gather that the story I learned yesterday is true — that the King hath declared that he did not get the child of which she is conceived at this time. But she told him, "G—d d—n me, but you shall own it!"² It seems, he is jealous of Jermin, and she loves him so, that the thoughts of his marrying of my Lady Falmouth puts her into fits of the mother; and he, it seems, hath been in her good graces from time to time, continually, for a good while; and once, as this Cooling says, the King had like to have taken him a-bed with her, but that he was fain to creep under the bed into her closet. Mr. Cooling told us

¹ Earl of Manchester.

² See 27th July, *ante*.

how the King, once speaking of the Duke of York's being mastered by his wife, said to some of the company by, that he would go no more abroad with this Tom Otter,¹ meaning the Duke of York, and his wife. Tom Killigrew, being by, said, "Sir, pray which is the best for a man, to be a Tom Otter to his wife or to his mistress?" meaning the King's being so to my Lady Castlemaine. Thus he went on; and speaking then of my Lord Sandwich, whom he professed to love exceedingly, says Creed, "I know not what, but he is a man, methinks, that I could love for himself, without other regards." He talked very lewdly; and then took notice of my kindness to him on ship-board seven years ago, when the King was coming over, and how much he was obliged to me; but says, pray look upon this acknowledgement of a kindness in me to be a miracle; for, says he, "it is against the law at Court for a man that borrows money of me, even to buy his place with, to own it the next Sunday;" and then told us his horse was a bribe, and his boots a bribe; and told us he was made up of bribes, as an Oxford scholar is set out with other men's goods when he goes out of town, and that he makes every sort of tradesman to bribe him; and invited me home to his house, to taste of his bribe wine.² I never heard so

¹ In the play of "Epicene, or the Silent Woman," Mrs. Otter thus addresses her henpecked husband, *Thomas Otter*—"Is this according to the instrument when I married you, that I would be princess and reign in my own house, and you would be my subject, and obey me?"—Act iii. scene 1.

² "Divide me like a bribe-buck, each a haunch."—*Merry Wives of Windsor*.

much vanity from a man in my life ; so, being now weary of him, we parted, and I took coach, and carried Creed to the Temple. There set him down, and to my office, till my eyes begun to ake, and then home to supper ; a pullet, with good sauce, to my liking, and then to play on the flageolet with my wife, which she now does very prettily, and so to bed.

31st. Among other things, did examine a fellow of our private man-of war, who we have found come up from Hull, with near 500*l.* worth of pieces of eight, though he will confess but 100 pieces. But it appears that there have been fine doings there. Major Halsey, speaking much of my doing business, and understanding business, told me how my Lord Generall do say that I am worth them all. To Marrowbone,¹ where my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, it seems, dined to-day : and were just now going away, methought, in a disconsolate condition, compared with their splendour they formerly had, when the City was standing.

August 1st. Dined at Sir W. Pen's, only with Mrs. Turner and her husband, on a venison pasty, that stunk like a devil. However, I did not know it till dinner was done. We had nothing but only this, and a leg of mutton, and a pullet or two. Mrs. Markham was here, with her great belly. I was very merry, and after dinner, upon a motion of the women, I was got to go to the play with them—the first I have seen since before the Dutch coming upon our coast, and so

¹ To the Lord Mayor's Banquetting House: on the site of what is Stratford Place, Oxford Street.

to the King's house, to see "The Custome of the Country." The house mighty empty — more than ever I saw it — and an ill play. After the play, we into the house, and spoke with Knipp, who went abroad with us by coach to the Neat Houses¹ in the way to Chelsy; and there, in a box in a tree,² we sat and sang, and talked and eat; my wife out of humour, as she always is, when this woman is by. So, after it was dark, we home. Set Knipp down at home, who told us the story how Nell is gone from the King's house, and is kept by my Lord Buckhurst. Home, the gates of the City shut, it being so late: and at Newgate we find them in trouble, some thieves having this night broke open prison. So we through, and home; and our coachman was fain to drive hard from two or three fellows, which he said were rogues, that he met at the end of Blow-bladder Street, next Cheapside. So set Mrs. Turner home, and then we home, and I to the Office a little; and so home and to bed, my wife in an ill humour still.

2nd. Up, and before I rose my wife fell into angry

¹ The site of the "neat-houses" is described in a grant in the Clause Rolls, 28 Henry VIII., as the "Manor of Neyte, with the precinct of water called the Mote of the said manor." John, fifth son of Richard Duke of York, was born at the Manor House of Neyte, November 7, 1448. King Edward VI., on June 28, 1 Edward VI., granted the "House of Neate" to Sir Anthony Brown. — WALCOTT'S *Westminster*, 338. Stow's Continuator describes this place as "a parcel of houses taken up by gardeners for planting of asparagus," &c. They seem to have been situated at or near Millbank. The "neat-houses" is still the name of the market gardens in that neighbourhood.

² Within the hollow of the trunk of Sir Philip Sidney's oak at Penshurst, celebrated by several of our poets, was a seat which contained five or six per-

discourse of my kindness yesterday to Mrs. Knipp, and in some bad words reproached me with it. I was troubled, but having much business in my head and desirous of peace rose and did not provoke her. So she up and came to me and spoke basely of my father, who I perceive did do something in the country, at her last being there, that did not like her, but I would not enquire into anything, but let her talk, and when ready away to the Office, where Mr. Gauden came to me, and he and I home to my chamber, and there reckoned, and I received my profits for Tangier of him, and 250*l.* on my victualling score. He is a most noble-minded man as ever I met with, and seems to own himself much obliged to me, which I will labour to make him ; for he is a good man also : and, in fine, I had much matter of joy by this morning's work, receiving above 400*l.* of him, on one account or other ; and a promise that, though I lay down my victualling place, yet, as long as he continues victualler, I shall be the better by him.

3rd. To the Office, there to enable myself, by finishing our great account, to give it to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury ; which I did, and there was called in to them, to tell them only the total of our debt of the Navy on the 25th of May last, which is above 950,000*l.* Here I find them mighty hot in their answer to the Council-board about

sons with ease and convenience. Pepys probably means a summer-house erected in the branches. A few years since one existed near Beckenham, in Kent.

our Treasurer's threepences of the Victualling, and also against the present farm of the Customes, which they do most highly inveigh against.

4th (Lord's day). Busy at my Office from morning till night, in writing with my own hand fair our large general account of the expence and debt of the Navy, which lasted me till midnight to do, that I was almost blind.

5th. To St. James's, where we did our ordinary business with the Duke of York, where I perceive they have taken the highest resolution in the world to become good husbands, and to retrench all charge; and to that end we are commanded to give him an account of the establishment in the seventh year of the late King's reign, and how offices and salaries had been increased since; and I hope it will end in the taking away some of our Commissioners. After done with the Duke of York, and coming out through his dressing-room, I there spied Signor Francisco tuning his gittar, and Monsieur de Puy with him, who did make him play to me, which he did most admirably — so well that I was mightily troubled that all that pains should have been taken upon so bad an instrument. I hear the ill news of our loss lately of four rich ships, two from Guinea, one from Gallipoly, all with rich oyles; and the other from Barbadoes, worth, as is guessed, 80,000*l*. But here is strong talk, as if Harman had taken some of the Dutch East India ships, but I dare not yet believe it, and brought them into Lisbon. Home, and dined with my wife at Sir

W. Pen's, where a very good pasty of venison, better than we expected, the last stinking basely, and after dinner he and my wife and I to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "Love's Trickes, or the School of Compliments;"¹ a silly play, only Miss Davis's dancing in a shepherd's clothes did please us mightily. Thence without much pleasure home and to my Office. My wife mighty angry with Nell, who is turned out a very gossip, and gads abroad as soon as our backs are turned, and will put her away to-morrow, which I am not sorry for.

6th. A full Board. Here, talking of news, my Lord Anglesey did tell us that the Dutch do make a further bogle with us about two or three things, which they will be satisfied in, he says, by us easily; but only in one, it seems, they do demand that we shall not interrupt their East Indiamen coming home, and of which they are in some fear; and we are full of hopes that we have light upon some of them, and carried them into Lisbon, by Harman; which God send! But they, which do show the low esteem they have of us, have the confidence to demand that we shall have a cessation on our parts, and yet they at liberty to take what they will; which is such an affront, as another cannot be devised greater. At noon home to dinner, where I find Mrs. Wood, formerly Bab. Sheldon, and our Mercer, who is dressed to-day in a paysan dress, that looks mighty pretty. We dined

¹ A comedy, by James Shirley.

and sang and laughed mighty merry, and then I to the Office, only met at the door with Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Burroughs, who I took in and drank with, but was afeard my wife should see them, they being, especially the first, tattling gossips, and so after drinking with them parted, and I to the Office, busy as long as my poor eyes would endure, which troubles me mightily. My wife, as she said last night, hath put away Nell to-day, for her gossiping abroad and telling of stories. Sir W. Batten did tell me to-night that the Council have ordered a hearing before them of Carcasse's business, which do vex me mightily, that we should be troubled so much by an idle rogue, a servant of our own, and all my thoughts to-night have been how to manage the matter before the Council.

7th. My wife abroad with her maid Jane and Tom all the afternoon, being gone forth to eat some pasties at "The Bottle of Hay," in John's Street, as you go to Islington, of which she is mighty fond, and I dined at home alone. Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, tells me that though the King and my Lady Castlemaine are friends again, she is not at White Hall, but at Sir D. Harvy's, whither the King goes to her; but he says she made him ask her forgiveness upon his knees, and promise to offend her no more so: and that, indeed, she did threaten to bring all his bastards to his closet-door, and hath nearly hectored him out of his wits.

8th. Sir Henry Bellassis is dead of the duell he fought about ten days ago, with Tom Porter; and it is pretty to see how the world do talk of them as a

couple of fools, that killed one another out of love. I to my bookseller's ; where, by and by, I met Mr. Evelyn, and talked of several things, but particularly of the times : and he tells me that wise men do prepare to remove abroad what they have, for that we must be ruined, our case being past relief, the kingdom so much in debt, and the King minding nothing but his lust, going two days a-week to see my Lady Castlemaine at Sir D. Harvy's. I met with Mr. Moore, who tells me that my Lord Hinchinbroke is now with his mistress, but that he is not married, as W. Howe came and told us the other day. To White Hall, and so took up my wife : and as far as Bow, where we staid and drank, and there, passing by Mr. Lowther and his lady, they stopped : and we talked a little with them, they being in their gilt coach. Presently came to us Mr. Andrews, whom I had not seen a good while, who, as other merchants do, do all give over any hopes of things doing well, and so he spends his time here most, playing at bowles. After dining together at the coach-side, we with great pleasure home.

9th. To Westminster, to Mr. Burges, and he and I talked, and he do really declare that he expects that of necessity this kingdom will fall back again to a commonwealth, and other wise men are of the same mind : this family doing all that silly men can do, to make themselves unable to support their kingdom, minding their lust and their pleasure, and making their government so chargeable, that people do well

remember better things were done, and better managed, and with much less charge under a commonwealth than they have been by this King. Home, and find Mr. Goodgroome,¹ my wife's singing-master. There I did soundly rattle him for neglecting her so much as he has done — she not having learned three songs these three months and more. To St. James's, and there met Sir W. Coventry; and he and I walked in the Park an hour. And then to his chamber, where he read to me the heads of the late great dispute between him and the rest of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and our new Treasurer of the Navy: where they have overthrown him the last Wednesday, in the great dispute touching his having the payment of the Victualler, which is now settled by Council that he is not to have it: and, indeed, they have been most just, as well as most severe and bold, in the doing this against a man of his quality; but I perceive Sir W. Coventry does really make no difference between any man. He tells me this day it is supposed the peace is ratified at Bredah,² and all that matter over. We did talk of many retrenchments of charge of the Navy which he will put in practice, and every where else; though, he tells me, he despairs of

¹ See December 17, 1666, *anté*.

² The peace was signed at Breda, on the 31st July. There were three separate acts, or instruments — the first, between France and England, by which D'Estrades and Courtin agreed that all conquests made during the war should be mutually restored; the second, between England and Denmark; the third, between England and Holland. In this last it is to be observed that England retained the right of the flag.

being able to do what ought to be done for the saving of the kingdom, which I tell him, indeed, all the world is almost in hopes of, upon the proceeding of these gentlemen for the regulating of the Treasury, it being so late, and our poverty grown so great, that they want where to set their feet, to begin to do any thing. He tells me how weary he hath for this year and a half been of the war; and how in the Duke of York's bedchamber, at Christ Church, at Oxford, when the Court was there, he did labour to persuade the Duke to fling off the care of the Navy, and get it committed to other hands; which, if he had done, would have been much to his honour, being just come home with so much honour from sea as he was. I took notice of the sharp letter he wrote, which he sent us to read yesterday, to Sir Edward Spragg, where he is very plain about his leaving his charge of the ships at Gravesend, when the enemy came last up, and several other things: a copy whereof I have kept. But it is done like a most worthy man; and he says it is good, now and then, to tell these gentlemen their duties, for they need it. And it seems, as he tells me, all our Knights are fallen out one with another, he, and Jenings, and Hollis, and, his words were, they are disputing which is the coward among them; and yet men that take the greatest liberty of censuring others! Here, with him, very late, till I could hardly get a coach or link willing to go through the ruins; but I do, but I will not do it again, being, indeed, very dangerous.

10th. To the Office, and there finished the letter about Carcasse, and sent it away, I think well writ, though it troubles me we should be put to trouble by the rogue so much. At noon to dinner, where I sang and piped with my wife with great pleasure. Then abroad and to the New Exchange, to the bookseller's¹ there, where I hear of several new books coming out — Mr. Spratt's History of the Royal Society,² and Mrs. Phillips's³ poems. Sir John Denham's poems are all going to be printed together; and, among others, some new things; and among them he showed me a copy of verses of his upon Sir John Minnes's going heretofore to Bullogne to eat a pig.⁴ Cowley, he tells me, is dead; who, it seems, was a mighty civil, serious man; which I did not know before.⁵ Several good plays are likely to be abroad soon, as Mustapha and Henry the 5th.

¹ To Herringman's, at the Blue Anchor, in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. He published Mrs. Phillips's Poems, Cowley's Poems, Davenant's Works, and was the great predecessor of Jacob Tonson. He died rich, and is buried under a handsome monument, at Chiselhurst, in Kent.

² By Thomas Sprat: then about to be published.

³ Catherine Fowler, wife of James Phillips, of Cardigan, and once celebrated as a distinguished poetess; best known as *the matchless Orinda*. She died at the early age of thirty-three, in 1664; but the praise of her contemporaries has not been sufficient to preserve her works from oblivion.

⁴ This was before the Restoration, when Sir John Minnes was at Calais.

⁵ We have here a striking instance of the slow communication of intelligence. Cowley died on the 28th of July, at Chertsey; and Pepys, though in London, and at all times a great newsmonger, did not learn till the 10th of August, that so distinguished a person was dead. Evelyn says that he attended Cowley's funeral on the 3rd of August, which shows that he did not keep his "Diary" entered up as regularly as our journalist, for the interment is thus recorded in the Register of Westminster Abbey: — "On the 17th of

11th (Lord's day). Up by four o'clock, and ready, with Mrs. Turner to take coach before five; and set on our journey, and got to the Wells at Barnett by seven o'clock, and there found many people a-drinking; but the morning is a very cold morning, so as we were very cold all the way in the coach. Here we met Joseph Batelier and W. Hewer also, and his uncle Steventon: so, after drinking three glasses and the women nothing, we back by coach to Barnett, where to the Red Lyon, where we 'light, and went up to the great Room, and there drank, and eat some of the best cheese-cakes that ever I eat in my life, and so took coach again, and W. Hewer on horse-back with us, and so to Hatfield, to the inn, next my Lord Salisbury's house, and there rested ourselves, and drank, and bespoke dinner; and so to church, it being just church-time. Did hear a most excellent

August, Mr. Cowley, a famous poet, was buried at the foot of the steps to Henry VII.'s Chapel." Cowley's corpse lay in state at Wallingford House, then the residence of the Duke of Buckingham.

[In "Notes and Queries," 4th series, x. p. 13, Colonel Chester writes respecting this note:—"Although Lord Braybrooke appears to have quoted the Abbey Register, it is clear that he really quoted from the version of it printed in the 'Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,' vii. 374. In order to comprehend fully my further remarks, I give two consecutive entries from the burial register of the Abbey, under the year 1667:—"August 3rd, Mr. Cowly, a famous Poet, was buried neare Mr. Chaucer's monument." "August 17th. The Countess of Clarendon was buried at the foot of the steps ascending to K. H. 7th's Chapel."

"It will be seen that in the 'Collectanea,' these two entries were jumbled together, the name of the Countess of Clarendon being omitted altogether. . . . This mutilated copy misled the learned editor of Pepys into making a charge of inaccuracy against Evelyn, who it now appears was strictly correct." (M. B.)]

good sermon, which pleased me mightily, and very devout ; it being upon the designs of saving grace, where it is in a man, and one sign, which held him all this day, was, that where that grace was, there is also the grace of prayer, which he did handle very finely. In this church lies the former Lord of Salisbury, Cecil,¹ buried in a noble tomb. Then we to our inn, and there dined very well, and mighty merry ; and walked out into the Park through the fine walk of trees, and to the Vineyard, and there showed them that, which is in good order, and indeed a place of great delight ; which, together with our fine walk through the Park, was of as much pleasure as could be desired in the world for country pleasure and good ayre. Being come back, and weary with the walk, the women had pleasure in putting on some straw hats, which are much worn in this country, and did become them mightily, but especially my wife. So, after resting awhile, we took coach again, and back to Barnett, where W. Hewer took us into his lodging, which is very handsome, and there did treat us very highly with cheesecakes, cream, tarts, and other good things ; and then walked into the garden, which was pretty, and there filled my pockets full of filberts, and so with much pleasure. Among other things, I met in this house with a printed book of the Life of O. Cromwell,² to his honour as a soldier and politician, though

¹ Robert Cecil, the first Earl, son of the great Lord Burghley. He died in 1612.

² "The History of the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, the late

as a rebell, the first of that kind that ever I saw, and it is well done. Took coach again, and got home with great content.

12th. To St. James's, where we find the Duke gone a-hunting with the King, but found Sir W. Coventry within, and he did largely discourse with us about our speedy falling upon considering of retrenchments in the expense of the Navy, which I will put forward as much as I can. So to the New Exchange, and there to my bookseller's, and did buy Scott's Discourse of Witches; and do hear Mr. Cowley mightily lamented his death, by Dr. Ward, the Bishop of Winchester,¹ and Dr. Bates,² who were standing there, as the best poet of our nation, and as good a man. Thence I to the printseller's, over against the Exchange towards Covent Garden, and there bought a few more prints of cittys. So home, and my wife and maids being gone over the water to the whitster's³ with their clothes, this being the first time of her trying this way of washing her linen, I dined at Sir W. Batten's, and after dinner, all alone to the King's playhouse, and there did happen to sit just before Mrs. Pierce, and Mrs. Knipp, who pulled me by the hair; and so I addressed myself to them, and talked to them all the intervals of the play, and did give them fruit. The play is

Usurper and pretended Protector of England, &c., truly collected and published for a warning to all tyrants and usurpers, by I. H., Gent. London, printed for F. Coles, at the Lamb, in the old Bailey, 1663," 4to. pp. 22; reprinted in "Harl. Miscel." i. p. 279.

¹ Dr. George Morley.

² See 23rd May, 1661, *ante*.

³ Whitester: a bleacher of linen.

"Brenoralt," which I do find but little in, for my part. Here was many fine ladies — among others, the German Baron, with his lady, who is envoy from the Emperor, and their fine daughter, which hath travelled all Europe over with them, it seems ; and is accordingly accomplished, and, indeed, is a wonderful pretty woman. Here Sir Philip Frowde,¹ who sat next to me, did tell me how Sir H. Bellassis is dead, and that the quarrel between him and Tom Porter, who is fled, did arise in the ridiculous fashion that I was first told it, which is a strange thing between two so good friends. The play being done, I took the women, and Mrs. Corbett, who was with them, by coach, it raining, to Mrs. Manuel's, the Jew's widow, formerly a player, whom we heard sing with one of the Italians that was there ; and, indeed, she sings mightily well, and just after the Italian manner, but yet do not please me like one of Mrs. Knipp's songs, to a good English tune, the manner of their ayre not pleasing me so well as the fashion of our own, nor so natural. Then home, and my wife come ; and so, saying nothing where I had been, we to supper and pipe, and so to bed.

13th. Attended the Duke of York, with our usual business ; who, upon occasion, told us that he did expect this night or to-morrow to hear from Bredah of the consummation of the peace. Thence Sir W. Pen and I to the King's house, and there saw "The Committee," which I went to with some prejudice,

¹ Ob. August 6, 1674. There is a monument to Sir Philip Frowde in Bath Abbey Church. See *ante*, 6th June, 1666.

not liking it before, but I do now find it a very good play, and a great deal of good invention in it; but Lacy's part is so well performed that it would set off anything. The play being done, I to the office, and then home to my chamber to sing and pipe till my wife comes home from her washing, which was nine at night, and a dark and rainy night, that I was troubled at her staying out so long.

14th. At noon, my wife being gone to the whitster's again to her clothes, I to dinner to Sir W. Batten's. By and by to talk of our prize at Hull, and Sir W. Batten offering, again and again, seriously how he would sell his part for 1,000*l.*, and I considering the knavery of Hogg and his company, and the trouble we may have with the Prince Rupert about the consort ship, and how we are linked with Sir R. Ford, and then the danger of the sea, if it shall be brought about, or bad debts contracted in the sale, but chiefly to be eased of my fears about all or any of this, I did offer my part to him for 700*l.* With a little beating the bargain, we came to a perfect agreement for 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which is two-thirds of 1,000*l.*, which is my proportion of the prize. I went to my office full of doubts and joy concerning what I had done; but, however, did put into writing the heads of our agreement, and we both signed them; and Sir R. Ford, being come thither since, witnessed them. I away, satisfied, and to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Country Captain," which is a very ordinary play.

15th. Sir W. Pen and I to the Duke's house, where a new play. The King and Court there: the house full, and an act begun. And so went to the King's, and there saw "The Merry Wives of Windsor:" which did not please me at all, in no part of it.

16th. My wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw the new play acted yesterday, "The Feign Innocence, or Sir Martin Marr-all;" a play made by my Lord Duke of Newcastle, but, as every body says, corrected by Dryden.¹ It is the most entire piece of mirth, a complete farce from one end to the other, that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life, and at very good wit therein, not fooling. The house full, and in all things of mighty content to me. To the New Exchange, where, at my bookseller's, I saw "The History of the Royal Society,"² which, I believe, is a fine book, and have bespoke one in quires. To my chamber, and read the history of 88³ in Speede, in order to my seeing the play thereof acted to-morrow at the King's house. Every body wonders that we have no news from Bredah of the ratification of the peace; and do suspect that there is some stop in it.

17th. All the morning at the office, and my head was full of the business of Carcassee, who has a hearing this morning before the Council and hath sum-

¹ Downes says that the Duke gave this comedy to Dryden, who adapted it to the stage; but it is entered on the books of the Stationers' Company as the production of his Grace.

² Spratt's.

³ 1588.

moned at least thirty persons, and what is wonderful, a great many of them, I hear, do declare more against him than for him. Sure he is distracted. At noon to dinner, and presently my wife and I and Sir W. Pen to the King's playhouse, where the house extraordinary full; and there the King and Duke of York to see the new play, "Queen Elizabeth's Troubles, and the History of Eighty Eight."¹ I confess I have sucked in so much of the sad story of Queen Elizabeth, from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes; but the play is the most ridiculous that sure ever came upon the stage; and, indeed, is merely a show, only shows the true garbe of the Queen in those days, just as we see Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth painted; but the play is merely a puppet play, acted by living puppets. Neither the design nor language better; and one stands by and tells us the meaning of things: only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milkmaids, and to hear her sing a song to Queen Elizabeth; and to see her come out in her night-gowne with no lockes on, but her bare face and hair only tied up in a knot behind; which is the comeliest dress that ever I saw her in to her advantage. Went as far as Mile End with Sir W.

¹ Pepys here, as elsewhere, took the second title of the piece, as, perhaps, it appeared in the bills of the day. He alludes to the revival of a play by Thomas Heywood, originally printed in 1605, under the title of "If you know not me, you know nobody, or the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth," which especially relates to the defeat of the Armada, in 1588. It was so popular that it went through eight or nine early editions. In 1667 it was no doubt brought out with some alterations, but probably not printed,

Pen, whose coach took him up there for his country-house ; and after having drunk there, at the Rose and Crowne, a good house for Alderman Bide's¹ ale, we parted.

18th. To Cree Church, to see it how it is ; but I find no alteration there, as they say there was, for my Lord Mayor and Aldermen to come to sermon, as they do every Sunday, as they did formerly to Paul's.² Back home and to our own church, where a dull sermon and our church empty of the best sort of people, they being at their country houses. There dined with me Mr. Turner and his daughter Betty. Betty is grown a fine young lady as to carriage and discourse. We had a good haunch of venison, powdered and boiled, and a good dinner. I walked towards White Hall, but, being weary, turned into St. Dunstan's Church, where I heard an able sermon of the minister³ of the place ; and stood by a pretty, modest maid, whom I did labour to take by the hand ; but she would not, but got further and further from me ; and, at last, I could perceive her to take pins out of her pocket to prick me if I should touch her again — which seeing I did forbear, and was glad I did spy her design. And then I fell to gaze upon another pretty maid in a pew close to me, and she on me ;

¹ John Bide, brewer, Sheriff of London in 1647.

² The church of St. Catherine Cree, having escaped the fire, was resorted to by the Corporation after the destruction of St. Paul's and so many other ecclesiastical edifices ; and Pepys probably expected to see alterations made for their accommodation.

³ John Thompson, vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West.

and I did go about to take her by the hand, which she suffered a little and then withdrew. So the sermon ended, and the church broke up, and my amours ended also. Took coach and home, and there took up my wife, and to Islington. Between that and Kingsland, there happened an odd adventure : one of our coach-horses fell sick of the staggers, so as he was ready to fall down. The coachman was fain to 'light, and hold him up, and cut his tongue to make him bleed, and his tail. The horse continued shaking every part of him, as if he had been in an ague, a good while, and the coachman thought and believed he would presently drop down dead ; then he blew some tobacco in his nose, upon which the horse sneezed, and, by and by, grew well, and drew us the rest of our way, as well as ever he did ; which was one of the strangest things of a horse I ever observed. It is the staggers. Staid and eat and drank at Islington, at the old house, and so home.

19th. To the Duke of York's house, all alone, and there saw " Sir Martin Marr-all " again, though I saw him but two days since, and do find it the most comical play that ever I saw in my life. Mr. Moore do agree with most people that I meet with, that we shall fall into a commonwealth in a few years, whether we will or no ; for the charge of a monarchy is such as the kingdom cannot be brought to bear willingly, nor are things managed so well now-a-days under it, as heretofore.

20th. Sir W. Coventry fell to discourse of retrench-

ments ; and therein he tells how he would have but only one Clerk of the Acts. He do tell me he hath propounded how the charge of the Navy in peace shall come within 200,000*l.*, by keeping out twenty-four ships in summer, and ten in the winter. And several other particulars we went over of retrenchment : and I find I must provide some things to offer that I may be found studious to lessen the King's charge. We up to the Duke of York, but no money to be heard of — nay, not 100*l.* upon the most pressing service that can be imagined of bringing in the King's timber from Whittlewood,¹ while we have the utmost want of it. Sir W. Coventry did single out Sir W. Pen and me, and desired us to lend the King some money, out of the prizes we have taken by Hogg. He did not much press it, and we made but a merry answer thereto ; but I perceive he did ask it seriously, and did tell us that there never was so much need of it in the world as now, we being brought to the lowest straits that can be in the world. This troubled me much. Thence, with my Lord Brouncker to the Duke's Playhouse, telling my wife so at the 'Change, where I left her, and there saw "Sir Martin Marr-all" again, which I have now seen three times, and it has been acted but four times, and still find it a very ingenious play, and full of variety. My wife mighty pressing for a new pair of cuffs, which I am against the laying out of money upon yet, which makes her angry.

¹ Whittlebury Forest.

21st. Up, and my wife and I fell out about the pair of cuffs, which she has a mind to have to go to see the ladies dancing to-morrow at Betty Turner's school ; and do vex me so that I am resolved to deny them her. However, by-and-by a way was found that she had them, and I well satisfied, being unwilling to let our difference grow higher upon so small an occasion and frowardness of mine. To the Commissioners of the Treasury, who do sit very close, and are bringing the King's charges as low as they can ; but Sir W. Coventry did here again tell me that he is very serious in what he said to Sir W. Pen and me yesterday about our lending of money to the King ; and says that people do talk that we had had the King's ships at his cost to take prizes, and that we ought to lend the King money more than other people. I did tell him I will consider it, and so parted ; and do find I cannot avoid it. I sent my cozen Roger a tierce of claret, which I give him. This morning come two of Captain Cocke's boys, whose voices are broke, and are gone from the Chapel, but have extraordinary skill ; and they and my boy, with his broken voice, did sing three parts ; their names were Blaew and Loggings : but, notwithstanding their skill, yet to hear them sing with their broken voices, which they could not command to keep in tune, would make a man mad — so bad it was.

22d. Up, and to the office ; whence Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Pen, and I, went to examine some men that are put in there, for rescuing of men that were

pressed into the service : and we do plainly see that the desperate condition that we put men into for want of their pay, makes them mad, they being as good men as ever were in the world, and would as readily serve the King again, were they but paid. Two men leapt overboard, among others, into the Thames, out of the vessel into which they were pressed, and were shot by the soldiers placed there to keep them, two days since ; so much people do avoid the King's service ! And then these men are pressed without money, and so we cannot punish them for any thing, so that we are forced only to make a show of severity¹ by keeping them in prison, but are unable to punish them. Returning to the office, I did ask whether we might visit Commissioner Pett, to which, I confess, I have no great mind ; and it was answered that he was a close prisoner, and we could not ; but the Lieutenant of the Tower would send for him to his lodgings, if we would : so we put it off to another time. To Captain Cocke's to dinner ; where Lord Brouncker and his Lady, Matt. Wren, and Bulteale, and Sir Allen Apsly ; the last of whom did make good sport, he being already fallen under the retrenchments of the new Committee, as he is Master Falconer ;² which makes him mad, and swears that we are doing what the Parliament would have done — that is, that we are

¹ Shooting the men was rather more than "a *show* of severity."

² The post of Master Falconer was afterwards granted to Charles's son by Nell Gwyn, and it is still held by the Duke of St. Albans, as an hereditary office.

now endeavouring to destroy one another. But it was well observed by some at the table, that they do not think this retrenchment of the King's charge will be so acceptable to the Parliament, they having given the King a revenue of so many 100,000*l.* a-year more than his predecessors had, that he might live in pomp, like a king. With my Lord Brouncker and his mistress to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Indian Emperour;" where I find Nell come again, which I am glad of; but was most infinitely displeased with her being put to act the Emperour's daughter, which is a great and serious part,¹ which she does most basely. The rest of the play, though pretty good, was not well acted by most of them, methought; so that I took no great content in it. But that, that troubled me most was, that Knipp sent by Moll² to desire to speak to me after the play; and she beckoned to me at the end of the play, and I promised to come; but it was so late, and I forced to step to Mrs. Williams's lodgings with my Lord Brouncker and her, where I did not stay, however, for fear of her showing me her closet, and thereby forcing me to give her something; and it was so late, that for fear of my wife's coming home before me, I was forced to go straight home, which troubled me. Anon, late, comes home my

¹ Nell Gwyn's dislike to serious parts is commemorated in the Epilogue to the Duke of Lerma, spoken by her: —

"I know you, in your hearts,
Hate serious plays, as I hate serious parts."

² Orange Moll, mentioned, *ante*, August 29th, 1666.

wife, with Mr. Turner and Mrs. Turner, with whom she supped, having been with Mrs. Turner to-day at her daughter's school, to see her daughters dancing, and the rest, which she says is fine. My wife very fine to-day, in her new suit of laced cuffs and perquisites. This evening Mr. Pelling comes to me, and tells me that this night the Dutch letters are come, and that the peace was proclaimed there the 19th inst., and that all is finished; which, for my life, I know not whether to be glad or sorry for, a peace being so necessary, and yet so bad in its terms.

23rd. Up, and Greeting comes, who brings me a tune for two flageolets, which we played, and is a tune played at the King's playhouse, which goes so well, that I will have more of them, and it will be a mighty pleasure for me to have my wife able to play a part with me, which she will easily, I find, do. Abroad to White Hall in a hackney-coach with Sir W. Pen; and in our way, in the narrow street near Paul's, going the backway by Tower Street, and the coach being forced to put back, he was turning himself into a cellar,¹ which made people cry out to us, and so we were forced to leap out — he out of one, and I out of the other boote;² *Query*, whether a glass-coach would

¹ So much of London was yet in ruins.

² See "Notes and Queries," 2nd series, vol. viii. p. 238. "By the bye, Dean Trench says in his 'Select Glossary,' p. 23, 'I do not know the history of the word *boot*, as describing one part of a carriage, but it is plain that not the luggage, but the chief persons used once to ride in the *Boot*.'"

As so eminent an English scholar confesses his lack of information on this point, it may not be superfluous to mention that the "boots" were the two

have permitted us to have made the escape? neither of us getting any hurt; nor could the coach have got much hurt had we been in it: but, however, there was cause enough for us to do what we could to save ourselves. So being all dusty, we put into the Castle tavern, by the Savoy, and there brushed ourselves. To White Hall, to attend the Council. The King there: and it was about considering how the fleet might be discharged at their coming in shortly, the peace being now ratified, and it takes place on Monday next. I to Westminster to the Exchequer, to see what sums of money other people will lend upon the Act; and find of all sizes from 1,000*l.* to 100*l.* — nay, to 50*l.*, and to 20*l.*, and to 5*l.*: for I find that one Dr. Reade, Doctor of Law, gives no more, and others of them 20*l.*; which is a poor thing, methinks, that we should stoop so low as to borrow such sums. Upon the whole, I do think to lend, since I must lend, 300*l.*, though, God knows! it is much against my will to lend any, unless things were in better condition, and likely to continue so. To the Treasury-chamber,

projections from the sides of the carriage, open to the air and in which the occupants were carried sideways. Such a "boot" is seen in the carriage containing the attendants of Queen Elizabeth, in Hoefnagel's well-known picture of Nonsuch Palace, dated 1582. Taylor, the Water Poet, the inveterate opponent of the introduction of coaches, thus satirizes the one in which he was forced to take his place as a passenger: "It wears two boots and no spurs, sometimes having two pairs of legs in one boot; and oftentimes against nature most preposterously it makes fair ladies wear the boot. Moreover, it makes people imitate sea-crabs, in being drawn sideways, as they are when they sit in the boot of the coach." — C. KNIGHT, *Pictorial Half-hours*, vol. i. p. 56. (M. B.)

where I waited, talking with Sir G. Downing, till the Lords met. He tells me how he will make all the Exchequer officers, of one side and the other, to lend the King money upon the Act; and that the least clerk shall lend money, and he believes the least will 100*l.*: but this I do not believe. He made me almost ashamed that we of the Navy had not in all this time lent any; so that I find it necessary I should, and so will speedily do it, before any of my fellows begin, and lead me to a bigger sum. By and by the Lords come; and I perceive Sir W. Coventry is the man, and nothing done till he comes. Among other things, I hear him observe, looking over a paper, that Sir John Shaw is a miracle of a man, for he thinks he executes more places than any man in England; for there he finds him a Surveyor of some of the King's woods, and so reckoned up many other places, the most inconsistent in the world. Their business with me was to consider how to assigne such of our commanders as will take assignments upon the Act for their wages; and the consideration thereof was referred to me to give them an answer the next sitting: which is a horrid poor thing: but they scruple at nothing of honour in the case. So away, and called my wife, and to the King's house, and saw "The Mayden Queene," which pleased us mightily; and then away, and took up Mrs. Turner at her door, and so to Mile End, and there drank, and so back to her house, it being a fine evening, and there supped. The first time I ever was there since they lived there;

and she hath all things so neat and well done, that I am mightily pleased with her, and all she do. So here very merry, and then home and to bed. I find most people pleased with their being at ease, and safe of a peace, that they may know no more charge or hazard of an ill-managed war: but nobody speaking of the peace with any content or pleasure, but are silent in it, as of a thing they are ashamed of; no, not at Court, much less in the City.

24th. St. Bartholomew's day. This morning was proclaimed the peace¹ between us and the States of the United Provinces, and also the King of France and Denmarke; and in the afternoon the Proclamations were printed and came out; and at night the bells rung, but no bonfires that I hear of any where, partly from the dearness of firing, but principally from the little content most people have in the peace. After dinner we to a play, and there saw "The Cardinall" at the King's house, wherewith I am mightily pleased; but, above all, with Becke Marshall. But it is pretty to see how I look up and down for, and did spy Knipp; but durst not own it to my wife, for fear of angering her, and so I was forced not to take notice of her, and so homeward: and my belly now full with plays, that I do intend to bind myself to see no more till Michaelmas. Most of our discourse is about our keeping a coach the next year, which pleases my wife mightily; and if I continue as able as now,

¹ See 9th August, *ante*.

it will save us money. This day comes a letter from the Duke of York to the Board to invite us, which is as much as to fright us, into the lending the King money ; which is a poor thing, and most dishonourable, and shows in what a case we are at the end of the war to our neighbours. And the King do now declare publickly to give 10 per cent. to all lenders ; which makes some think that the Dutch themselves will send over money, and lend it upon our publick faith, the Act of Parliament.

25th (Lord's day). Up and to church, and thence home ; and Pelling comes by invitation to dine with me, and much pleasant discourse with him. After dinner, away by water to White Hall, where I landed Pelling, who is going to his wife, where she is in the country, at Parson's Greene ;¹ and myself to Westminster, and to the parish church, thinking to see Betty Michell ; and did stay an hour in the crowd, thinking, by the end of a nose that I saw, that it had been her ; but at last the head turned towards me, and it was her mother, which vexed me. So I back to my boat, which had broke one of her oars in rowing, and had now fastened it again ; and so I up to Putney, and there stepped into the church, to look upon the fine people there, whereof there is great store, and the young ladies ; and so walked to Barne-Elmes, whither I sent Russel,² reading of Boyle's Hydrostatickes, which are of infinite delight. I walked

¹ In the parish of Fulham, Middlesex.

² His waterman.

in the Elmes a good while, and then to my boat, and leisurely home, with great pleasure to myself; and there supped, and W. Hewer with us, with whom a great deal of good talk touching the Office, and so to bed.

26th. To the Office, where we sat upon a particular business all the morning: and my Lord Anglesey with us: who, and my Lord Brouncker, do bring us news how my Lord Chancellor's seal is to be taken away from him to-day. The thing is so great and sudden to me, that it put me into a very great admiration what should be the meaning of it; and they do not own that they know what it should be: but this is certain, that the King did resolve it on Saturday, and did yesterday send the Duke of Albemarle, the only man fit for those works, to him for his purse: to which the Chancellor answered, that he received it from the King, and would deliver it to the King's own hand, and so civilly returned the Duke of Albemarle without it: and this morning my Lord Chancellor is to be with the King, to come to an end in the business. Dined at Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Boreman was, who came from White Hall; who tells us that he saw my Lord Chancellor come in his coach with some of his men, without his Seal, to White Hall to his chamber; and thither the King and Duke of York came and staid together alone, an hour or more: and it is said that the King do say that he will have the Parliament meet, and that it will prevent much trouble by having of him out of their enmity, by his place

being taken away ; for that all their enmity will be at him. It is said also that my Lord Chancellor answers, that he desires he may be brought to his trial, if he have done any thing to lose his office ; and that he will be willing, and is most desirous, to lose that, and his head both together. Upon what terms they parted nobody knows : but the Chancellor looked sad, he says. Then in comes Sir Richard Ford, and says he hears that there is nobody more presses to reconcile the King and Chancellor than the Duke of Albemarle and Duke of Buckingham : the latter of which is very strange, not only that he who was so lately his enemy should do it, but that this man, that but the other day was in danger of losing his own head, should so soon come to be a mediator for others : it shows a wise Government. They all say that he [Clarendon] is but a poor man, not worth above 3,000*l.* a-year in land ; but this I cannot believe : and all do blame him for having built so great a house, till he had got a better estate. So I walked to the King's playhouse, and saw "The Surprizall,"¹ a very mean play, I thought : or else it was because I was out of humour, and but very little company in the house. Sir W. Pen and I had a great deal of discourse with Moll ; who tells us that Nell is already left by my Lord Buckhurst, and that he makes sport of her, and swears she hath had all she could get of him ; and Hart,² her great admirer, now hates her : and that she is very poor,

¹ A comedy, by Sir Robert Howard.

² The celebrated actor.

and hath lost my Lady Castlemaine, who was her great friend also : but she is come to the House, but is neglected by them all.¹

27th. Up, and am invited betimes to be godfather to-morrow to Captain Poole's child with my Lady Pen and Lady Batten, which I accepted out of complaisance to them, and so to the office. Then to St. James's, where we waited on the Duke of York, but did little business, and he, I perceive, his head full of other business, and of late has not been very ready to be troubled with our business. To White Hall, and there hear how it is like to go well enough with my Lord Chancellor ; that he is like to keep his Seal, desiring that he may stand his trial in Parliament, if they will accuse him of any thing. Here Sir J. Minnes and I looking upon the pictures ; and Mr. Cheffins,² being by, did take us, of his own accord, into the King's closet, to show us some pictures, which, indeed, is a very noble place, and exceeding great variety of brave pictures, and the best hands. I could have spent three or four hours there well, and we had great liberty to look : and Cheffins seemed to take pleasure to show us, and commend the pictures. I to visit Colonel Fitzgerald,³ who hath been sick at Woolwich, where most of the officers and soldiers quartered

¹ The King afterwards took her into keeping. His son by her was born 8th May, 1670, and was subsequently made Duke of St. Albans. It may be well doubted if Charles were indeed the father. See also note, 28th September, 1667, *post*.

² William Chiffinch, noticed April 8, 1866, *ante*.

³ Deputy-Governor of Tangier.

there, since the Dutch being in the river, have died of been sick, and he among the rest ; and, by the growth of his beard and gray hairs, I did not know him. His desire to speak with me was about the late command for my paying no more pensions for Tangier. This day, Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, was with me ; and tells how this business of my Lord Chancellor's was certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber ; and that, when he went from the King on Monday morning, she was in bed, though about twelve o'clock, and ran out in her smock into her aviary looking into White Hall ; and thither her woman brought her, her nightgown ; and stood joying herself at the old man's going away : and several of the gallants of White Hall, of which there were many staying to see the Chancellor return, did talk to her in her bird-cage ; among others, Blancford,¹ telling her she was the bird of paradise.²

28th. Up ; and staid undressed till my tailor's boy did mend my vest, in order to my going to the christening anon. To White Hall, to attend the Council, by their order, with an answer to their demands touching our advice for the paying off of the seamen, when their ships shall come in, which answer is worth seeing, showing the badness of our condition. There, when I came, I was forced to stay till past twelve, in a crowd of people in the lobby, expecting the hearing of the

¹ See note, Feb. 3, 1664-5, *ante*.

² See Clarendon's account of this scene, "Life," vol. iii. p. 32, 8vo, 1761.

great cause of Alderman Barker¹ against my Lord Deputy of Ireland, for his ill usage in his business of land there ; but the King and Council sat so long, as they neither heard them nor me. So when they rose, I into the House, and saw the King and Queen at dinner, and heard a little of their viallins' musick, and so home. In the afternoon with my Lady Batten, Pen, and her daughter, and my wife, to Mrs. Poole's, where I mighty merry among the women, and christened the child, a girl, Elizabeth, which, though a girl, yet my Lady Batten would have me to give the name. After christening comes Sir W. Batten, W. Pen, and Mr. Lowther, and mighty merry there, and I forfeited for not kissing the two godmothers presently after the christening, before I kissed the mother, which made good mirth ; and so anon away, and my wife and I went twice round Bartholomew fayre ; which I was glad to see again, after two years missing it by the plague.

29th. Mr. Moore tells me that my Lord Crew and his friends take it very ill of me that my Lord Sandwich's sea-fee should be retrenched, and so reported from this Office, and I give them no notice of it. The thing, though I know it to be false—at least, that nothing went from our office towards it—yet it troubled me, and therefore I went and dined with my Lord Crew, and I did enter into that discourse, and laboured to satisfy him ; but found, though he

¹ William Barker, who married Martha, daughter of William Turner, and widow of Daniel Williams. His son William was created a Baronet in 1676.

said little, yet that he was not yet satisfied ; but after dinner did pray me to go and see how it was, whether true or no. Did tell me that if I was not their friend, they could trust to nobody, and that he did not forget my service and love to my Lord, and adventures for him in dangerous times, and therefore would not willingly doubt me now ; but yet asked my pardon if, upon this news, he did begin to fear it. This did mightily trouble me : so I away thence to White Hall, but could do nothing. In the evening to White Hall again, and there met Sir Richard Browne, Clerk to the Committee for retrenchments, who assures me no one word was ever yet mentioned about my Lord's salary ; and the mistake ended very merrily, and to all our contents. I find at Sir G. Carteret's that they do mightily joy themselves in the hopes of my Lord Chancellor's getting over this trouble ; and I make them believe, and so, indeed, I do believe he will, that my Lord Chancellor is become popular by it. I find by all hands that the Court is at this day all to pieces, every man of a faction of one sort or other, so as it is to be feared what it will come to. But that, that pleases me is, I hear to-night that Mr. Brouncker is turned away yesterday by the Duke of York, for some bold words he was heard by Colonel Werden¹ to say in the garden, the day the Chancellor was with the King — that he believed the King would be hec-

¹ Colonel Werden afterwards held office under James II. and Queen Mary. His eldest son, John, was created a Baronet in 1672. See note to June 23, 1667, *ante*.

tored out of everything. For this the Duke of York, who all say hath been very strong for his father-in-law at this trial, hath turned him away : and every body, I think, is glad of it ; for he was a pestilent rogue, an atheist, that would have sold his King and country for 6*l.* almost, so covetous and wicked a rogue he is, by all men's report. But one observed to me, that there never was the occasion of men's holding their tongues at Court and everywhere else as there is at this day, for nobody knows which side will be uppermost.

30th. At White Hall I met with Sir G. Downing, who tells me of Sir W. Pen's offering to lend 500*l.* ; and I tell him of my 300*l.* which he would have me to lend upon the credit of the latter part of the Act ; saying, that by that means my 10 per cent. will continue to me the longer. But I understand better, and will do it upon the 380,000*l.* which will come to be paid the sooner ; there being no delight in lending money now, to be paid by the King two years hence. But here he and Sir William Doyly were attending the Council as Commissioners for sick and wounded, and prisoners : and they told me their business, which was to know how we shall do to release our prisoners ; for it seems the Dutch have got us to agree in the treaty, as they fool us in anything, that the dyet of the prisoners on both sides shall be paid for, before they be released ; which they have done, knowing ours to run high, they having more prisoners of ours than we have of theirs ; so that they are able and most ready to discharge the debt of theirs, but we are neither able nor

willing to do that for ours, the debt of those in Zealand only, amounting to above 5,000*l.* for men taken in the King's own ships, besides others taken in merchantmen, who expect, as is usual, that the King should redeem them ; but I think he will not, by what Sir G. Downing says. This our prisoners complain of there ; and say in their letters, which Sir G. Downing showed me, that they have made a good feat that they should be taken in the service of the King, and the King not pay for their victuals while prisoners for him. But so far they are from doing thus with their men, as we do to discourage ours, that I find in the letters of some of our prisoners there, which he showed me, that they have with money got our men, that they took, to work and carry their ships home for them ; and they have been well rewarded, and released when they came into Holland : which is done like a noble, brave, and wise people. To Walthamstow, to Sir W. Pen's by invitation ; a very bad dinner, and everything suitable, that I never knew people in my life that make their flutter, that do things so meanly. I was sick to see it, but was merry at some ridiculous humours of my Lady Batten, who, as being an ill-bred woman, would take exceptions at anything any body said, and I made good sport at it. Into the garden and wilderness, which is like the rest of the house, nothing in order, nor looked after. By and by comes newes that my Lady Viner was come to see Mrs. Lowther, and all the pleasure I had here was to see her, which I did, and saluted her, and find she is

pretty, though not so eminently so as people talked of her, and of very pretty carriage and discourse. Leaving my wife to come home with them, I to Bartholomew fayre, to walk up and down; and there, among other things find my Lady Castlemaine at a puppet-play, "Patient Grizill,"¹ and the street full of people expecting her coming out. I confess I did wonder at her courage to come abroad, thinking the people would abuse her; but they, silly people! do not know the work she makes, and therefore suffered her with great respect to take coach, and she away, without any trouble at all. I, among others, saw Tom Pepys, the turner, who has a shop, and I think, lives in the fair when the fair is not. Captain Cocke tells me that there is yet expectation that the Chancellor will lose the Seal; and assures me that there have been high words between the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry, for his being so high against the Chancellor; so as the Duke of York would not sign some papers that he brought, saying that he could not endure the sight of him: and that Sir W. Coventry answered, that what he did was in obedience to the King's commands; and that he did not think any man fit to serve a Prince, that did not know how to retire and live a country life.

¹ The well-known story, first told by Boccaccio, then by Petrarca, afterwards by Chaucer, and which has since become proverbial. Tom Warton, writing about 1770, says, "I need not mention that it is to this day represented in England, on a stage of the lowest species, and of the highest antiquity: I mean at a puppet show." — *Hist. of English Poetry*, sect. xv.

31st. At the office all the morning ; where, by Sir W. Pen, I do hear that the Seal was fetched away to the King yesterday from the Lord Chancellor by Secretary Morrice ; which puts me into a great horror. My Lord Brouncker tells me that he hath of late discoursed about this business with Sir W. Coventry, who he finds is the great man in the doing this business of the Chancellor's, and that he do persevere in it, though against the Duke of York's opinion, to which he says that the Duke of York was once of the same mind, and that if he had thought fit since, for any reason, to alter his mind, he hath not found any to alter his own, and so desires to be excused, for it is for the King's and kingdom's good. And it seems that the Duke of York himself was the first man that did speak to the King of this, though he hath since altered his mind ; and that W. Coventry did tell the Duke of York that he was not fit to serve a Prince that did not know how to retire, and live a private life ; and that he was ready for that, if it be his and the King's pleasure. In the evening, Mr. Ball, of the Excise-office, tells me that the Seal is delivered to Sir Orlando Bridgeman ; the man of the whole nation that is the best spoken of, and will please most people ; and therefore I am mighty glad of it. He was then at my Lord Arlington's, whither I went, expecting to see him come out ; but staid so long, and Sir W. Coventry coming there, whom I had not a mind should see me there idle upon a post-night, I went home without seeing him ; but he is there with his Seal in his hand. This day,

being dissatisfied with my wife's learning so few songs of Goodgroome, I did come to a new bargain with him to teach her songs at so much, viz., 10s. a song, which he accepts of, and will teach her.

September 1st (Lord's day). Up, and betimes by water from the Tower, and called at the Old Swan for a glass of strong water, and sent word to have little Michell and his wife come, and dine with us to-day; and so, taking in a gentleman and his lady that wanted a boat, to Westminster. Our new Lord-keeper, Bridgeman, did this day, the first time, attend the King to chapel with his Seal. Sir H. Cholmly tells me there are hopes that the women will also have a rout, and particularly that my Lady Castlemaine is coming to a composition with the King to be gone; but how true this is, I know not. Blanford is made Privy-purse to the Duke of York; the Attorney-general¹ is made Chief Justice, in the room of my Lord Bridgeman; the Solicitor-general¹ is made Attorney-general; and Sir Edward Turner made Solicitor-general.¹ It is pretty to see how strange every body looks, nobody knowing whence this arises; whether from my Lady Castlemaine, Bab. May, and their faction; or from the Duke of York, notwithstanding his great appearance of defence of the Chancellor; or from Sir William Coventry, and some few with him. But greater changes are yet expected. Spent all the afternoon,

¹ This was a false report; Bridgeman continued to preside in the Common Pleas till 23rd May, 1668, when he was succeeded by Lord Chief Justice Vaughan; but neither of the other changes took place.

Pelling, Howe, and I, and my boy, singing of Lock's response to the Ten Commandments, which he hath set very finely, and was a good while since sung before the King, and spoiled in the performance, which occasioned his printing them for his vindication, and are excellent good. In the evening my wife and I to walk in the garden and there scolded a little, I being doubtful that she had received a couple of fine pinnars (one of point de Gesne), which I feared she hath from some one or other of a present; but, on the contrary, I find she hath bought them for me to pay for them, without my knowledge. This do displease me much; but yet do so much please me better than if she had received them the other way, that I was not much angry, but fell to other discourse.

2nd. This day is kept in the City as a publick fast for the fire this day twelve months: but I was not at church, being commanded, with the rest, to attend the Duke of York; and, therefore, with Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, where we had much business before the Duke of York, and observed all things to be very kind between the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry, which did mightily joy me. When we had done, Sir W. Coventry called me down with him to his chamber, and there told me that he is leaving the Duke of York's service, which I was amazed at. But he tells me that it is not with the least unkindness on the Duke of York's side, though he expects, and I told him he was in the right, it will be interpreted otherwise, because done just at this time; "but," says he,

"I did desire it a good while since, and the Duke of York did, with much entreaty, grant it, desiring that I would say nothing of it, that he might have time and liberty to choose his successor, without being importuned for others whom he should not like:" and that he hath chosen Mr. Wren, which I am glad of, he being a very ingenious man; and so Sir W. Coventry says of him, though he knows him little; but particularly commends him for the book he writ in answer to "*Harrington's Oceana*,"¹ which, for that reason, I intend to buy. He tells me the true reason is, that he, being a man not willing to undertake more business than he can go through, and being desirous to have his whole time to spend upon the business of the Treasury, and a little for his own ease, he did desire this of the Duke of York. He assures me that the kindness with which he goes away from the Duke of York is one of the greatest joys that ever he had in the world. I used some freedom with him, telling him how the world hath discoursed of his having offended the Duke of York, about the late business of the Chancellor. He does not deny it, but says that perhaps the Duke of York might have some reason for it, he opposing him in a thing wherein he was so earnest: but tells me, that, notwithstanding all that, the Duke of York does not now, nor can blame him; for he was the man that did propose the removal of the Chancellor; and that he did still persist in it, and at this day publickly owns it, and is

¹ See note, March 7, 1666, *ante*.

glad of it ; but that the Duke of York knows that he did first speak of it to the Duke of York, before he spoke to any mortal creature besides, which was fair dealing : and the Duke of York was then of the same mind with him, and did speak of it to the King ; though since, for reasons best known to himself, he afterwards altered. I did then desire to know what was the great matter that grounded his desire of the Chancellor's removal ? He told me many things not fit to be spoken, and yet not any thing of his being unfaithful to the King ; but, *instar omnium*, he told me, that while he was so great at the Council-board, and in the administration of matters, there was no room for any body to propose any remedy to what was amiss, or to compass any thing, though never so good, for the kingdom, unless approved of by the Chancellor, he managing all things with that greatness which now will be removed, that the King may have the benefit of others' advice. I then told him that the world hath an opinion that he hath joined himself with my Lady Castlemaine's faction in this business ; he told me, he cannot help it, but says they are in an error : for he will never, while he lives, truckle under any body or any faction, but do just as his own reason and judgment directs ; and, when he cannot use that freedom, he will have nothing to do in public affairs : but then he added, that he never was the man that ever had any discourse with my Lady Castlemaine, or with others from her, about this or any public business, or ever made her a visit, or at

least not this twelvemonth, or been in her lodgings but when called on any business to attend the King there, nor hath had any thing to do in knowing her mind in this business. He ended all with telling me that he knows that he that serves a Prince must expect, and be contented to stand, all fortunes, and be provided to retreat, and that that he is most willing to do whenever the King shall please. And so we parted, he setting me down out of his coach at Charing Cross, and desired me to tell Sir W. Pen what he had told me of his leaving the Duke of York's service, that his friends might not be the last that know it. I took a coach and went homewards; but then turned again, and to White Hall, where I met with many people; and, among other things, do learn that there is some fear that Mr. Brouncker is got into the King's favour, and will be cherished there; which will breed ill will between the King and Duke of York, he lodging at this time in White Hall since he was put away from the Duke of York: and he is great with Bab. May, my Lady Castlemaine, and that wicked crew. But I find this denied by Sir G. Carteret, who tells me that he is sure he hath no kindness from the King; that the King at first, indeed, did endeavour to persuade the Duke of York from putting him away; but when, besides this business of his ill words concerning his Majesty in the business of the Chancellor, he told him that he hath had, a long time, a mind to put him away for his ill offices, done between him and his wife, the King held his peace, and said no more,

but wished him to do what he pleased with him ; which was very noble. I met with Fenn ; and he tells me, as I do hear from some others, that the business of the Chancellor's had proceeded from something of a mistake, for the Duke of York did first tell the King that the Chancellor had a desire to be eased of his great trouble ; and that the King, when the Chancellor came to him, did wonder to hear him deny it, and the Duke of York was forced to deny to the King that ever he did tell him so in those terms : but the King did answer that he was sure that he did say some such things to him ; but, however, since it had gone so far, did desire him to be contented with it, as a thing very convenient for him as well as for himself, the King : and so matters proceeded, as we find. Now it is likely the Chancellor might, some time or other, in a compliment or vanity, say to the Duke of York, that he was weary of this burden, and I know not what ; and this comes of it. Some people, and myself among them, are of good hope from this change that things are reforming ; but there are others that do think it is a hit of chance, as all other our greatest matters are, and that there is no general plot or contrivance in any number of people what to do next, though, I believe, Sir W. Coventry may in himself have further designs ; and so that, though other changes may come, yet they shall be accidental and laid upon [no] good principles of doing good. Mr. May¹ showed me the King's new buildings, in order

¹ Hugh May.

to their having of some old sails for the closing of the windows this winter. I dined with Sir G. Carteret, with whom dined Mr. Jack Ashburnham and Dr. Creeton, who I observe to be a most good man and scholar. In discourse at dinner concerning the change of men's humours and fashions touching meats, Mr. Ashburnham told us, that he remembers since the only fruit in request, and eaten by the King and Queen at table as the best fruit, was the Catharine payre,¹ though they knew at the time other fruits of France and our own country. After dinner comes in Mr. Townsend; and there I was witness of a horrid rating, which Mr. Ashburnham, as one of the Grooms of the King's Bedchamber, did give him for want of linen for the King's person; which he swore was not to be endured, and that the King would not endure it, and that the King his father, would have hanged his Wardrobe-man should he have been served so: the King having at this day no hankerchers, and but three bands to his neck, he swore. Mr. Townsend pleaded want of money, and the owing of the linen-draper 5,000*l.*; and that he hath of late got many rich things made — beds, and sheets, and saddles, and all without money, and he can go no further: but still this old man, indeed, like an old loving servant, did cry out for the King's person to be neglected. But, when he was gone, Townsend told me that it is the grooms taking away the King's linen at the quarter's

¹ A small red fruit, yet common in the London markets.

end, as their fee, which makes this great want: for, whether the King can get it or no, they will run away at the quarter's end with what he hath had, let the King get more as he can. All the company gone, Sir G. Carteret and I to talk: and it is pretty to observe how already he says that he did always look upon the Chancellor indeed as his friend, though he never did do him any service at all, nor ever got any thing by him, nor was he a man apt, and that, I think, is true, to do any man any kindness of his own nature; though I do know that he was believed by all the world to be the greatest support of Sir G. Carteret with the King of any man in England: but so little is now made of it! He observes that my Lord Sandwich will lose a great friend in him; and I think so too, my Lord Hinchinbroke being about a match calculated purely out of respect to my Lord Chancellor's family.¹ By and by Sir G. Carteret, and Townsend, and I, to consider of an answer to the Commissioners of the Treasury about my Lord Sandwich's profits in the Wardrobe; which seem, as we make them, to be very small, not 1,000*l.* a-year; but only the difference in measure at which he buys and delivers out to the King, and then 6*d.* in the pound from the tradesmen for what money he receives for him; but this, it is believed, these Commissioners will endeavour to take away. From him I went to see a great match at tennis, between Prince Rupert

¹ See April 29, 1667, *ante*.

and one Captain Cooke, against Bab. May and the elder Chichly; where the King was, and Court; and it seems they are the best players at tennis in the nation. But this puts me in mind of what I observed in the morning, that the King, playing at tennis, had a steele-yard carried to him, and I was told it was to weigh him after he had done playing; and at noon Mr. Ashburnham told me that it is only the King's curiosity, which he usually hath of weighing himself before and after his play, to see how much he loses in weight by playing: and this day he lost $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. I to Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen, and there discoursed of Sir W. Coventry's leaving the Duke of York, and Mr. Wren's succeeding him. They told me both seriously, that they had long cut me out for Secretary to the Duke of York, if ever Sir W. Coventry left him; which, agreeing with what I have heard from other hands heretofore, do make me not only think that something of that kind hath been thought on, but do comfort me to see that the world hath such an esteem of my qualities as to think me fit for any such thing; though I am glad, with all my heart, that I am not so; for it would never please me to be forced to the attendance that that would require, and leave my wife and family to themselves, as I must do in such a case; thinking myself now in the best place that ever man was in to please his own mind in, and, therefore, I will take care to preserve it.

3rd. Attended the Duke of York about the list of ships that we propose to sell: and here there attended

Mr. Wren the first time, who hath not yet, I think, received the Duke of York's seal and papers. At our coming hither, we found the Duke and Duchess all alone at dinner, methought melancholy; or else I thought so, from the late occasion of the Chancellor's fall, who, they say, however, takes it very contentedly.

4th. By coach to White Hall to the Council-chamber; and there met with Sir W. Coventry going in, who took me aside, and told me he was just come from delivering up his seal and papers to Mr. Wren; and told me he must now take his leave of me as a naval man, but that he shall always bear respect to his friends there,¹ and particularly to myself, with great kindness; which I returned to him with thanks, and so, with much kindness parted: and he into the Council. Sir Samuel Morland shewed me two orders upon the Exchequer, one of 600*l.*, and another of 400*l.*, for money assigned to him, which he would have me lend him money upon, and he would allow 12 per cent. I would not meddle with them though they are very good; and I would, had I not so much money out already on public credit. But I see by this his condition all trade will be bad. Staid and heard Alderman Barker's case of his being abused by the Council of Ireland, touching his lands there: all I observed there was the silliness of the King, playing with his dog all the while, and not minding the business: and what he said was mighty weak; but my

¹ The officers of the Navy Board.

Lord Keeper I observe to be a mighty able man. With my wife and W. Hewer to Bartholomew fayre, and there Polichinelli, where we saw Mrs. Clerke and all her crew ; and so to a private house, and sent for a side of pig, and eat it at an acquaintance of W. Hewer's, where there was some learned physic and chymical books, and among others, a natural "Herball"¹ very fine. To the Duke of York's play house, and there saw "Mustapha," which, the more I see, the more I like ; and is a most admirable poem, and bravely acted ; only both Betterton and Harris could not contain from laughing in the midst of a most serious part, from the ridiculous mistake of one of the men upon the stage ; which I did not like.

5th. To the Duke of York's house, and there saw "Heraclius," which is a good play ; but they did so spoil it with their laughing, and being all of them out, and with the noise they made within the theatre, that I was ashamed of it, and resolved not to come thither again a good while, believing that this negligence, which I never observed before, proceeds only from their want of company in the pit, that they have no care how they act. This morning I was told by Sir W. Batten, that he do hear from Mr. Grey, who hath good intelligence, that our Queen is to go into a nunnery, there to spend her days ; and that my Lady Castlemaine is going into France, and is to have a pension of 4,000*l.* a-year. This latter I do more

¹ Evidently a *Hortus siccus*.

believe than the other, it being very wise in her to do it, and save all she hath, besides easing the King and kingdom of a burden and reproach.

6th. To Westminster, and then into the Hall, and there bought "Guillim's Heraldry."¹ So home, where I found my wife gone to Walthamstow by invitation with Sir W. Batten, and so I followed taking up Mrs. Turner, and she and I much discourse all the way touching the baseness of Sir W. Pen and sluttishness of his family. An indifferent good dinner, the victuals very good and cleanly dressed and good linen, but no fine meat at all. Here we staid, I tired with the company, till almost evening and so to Bartholomew fair, and there, it being very dirty, and now night, we saw a poor fellow, whose legs were tied behind his back, dance upon his hands with his breech above his head, and also dance upon his crutches, without any legs upon the ground to help him, which he did with that pain that I was sorry to see it, and did pity him and give him money after he had done. Then we to see a piece of clocke-work made by an Englishman — indeed, very good, wherein all the several states of man's age, to 100 years old, is shewn very pretty and solemne; and several other things more cheerful, and so we ended, and took a link, the women resolving

¹ The real author of this esteemed book was John Barkham, who, being a grave divine, gave the manuscript to John Guillim, in whose name it was published. It first appeared in 1610, and has often been reprinted with additions. Scott well represents the use made of it in many families, when he says old Sir Hildebrand Osbaldiston took up Guillim for Sunday reading.

to be dirty, and walked up and down to get a coach ; and my wife, being a little before me, had like to be taken up by one, whom we saw to be Sam Hartlib. My wife had her vizard on : yet we cannot say that he meant any hurt ; for it was just as she was by a coach-side, which he had, or had a mind to take up ; and he asked her, “ Madam, do you go in this coach ? ” but, as soon as he saw a man come to her, I know not whether he knew me, he departed away apace. By and by did get a coach, and so away home, and there to supper, and to bed.

7th. To the office. At noon home to dinner, where Goodgroome was teaching my wife, and I did tell him of my intention to learn to trill, which he will not promise I shall obtain, but he will do what can be done, and I am resolved to learn. By coach with my wife, she to the 'Change, and I to see the price of a copper cisterne for the table, which is very pretty, and they demand 6*l.* or 7*l.* for one ; but I will have one. Bought a nightgown for my wife : cost but 24*s.*

8th. To St. James's ; but there I find Sir W. Coventry gone from his chamber, and Mr. Wren not yet come thither. With my Lord Brouncker, and he told me, in discourse, how that, though it is true that Sir W. Coventry did long since propose to the Duke of York the leaving his service, as being unable to fulfill it, as he should do, now he hath so much public business, and that the Duke of York did bid him say nothing of it, but that he would take time to please himself in another to come in his place ; yet the Duke, doing it at

this time, declaring that he hath found out another, and this one of the Chancellor's servants, he cannot but think was done with some displeasure, and that it could not well be otherwise, that the Duke of York should keep one in that place, that had so eminently opposed him in the defence of his father-in-law, nor could the Duchess ever endure the sight of him, to be sure. But he thinks that the Duke of York and he are parted upon clear terms of friendship. Lord Brouncker says he do believe that my Lady Castlemaine is compounding with the King for a pension, and to leave the Court ; but that her demands are mighty high : but he believes the King is resolved, and so do every body else I speak with, to do all possible to please the Parliament ; and he do declare that he will deliver every body up to give an account of their actions : and that last Friday, it seems, there was an Act of Council passed, to put out all Papists in office, and to keep out any from coming in. I went to the King's Chapel to the closet, and there I heard Cresset¹ sing a tenor part along with the Church musick very handsomely, but so loud that people did laugh at him, as a thing done for ostentation. Here I met Sir G. Downing, who would speak with me, and first to inquire what I paid for my kid's leather gloves I had on my hand, and shewed me others on his, as handsome, as good in

¹ This was most likely Francis Cresset, a Shropshire gentleman, whose father and brother had fallen in the King's service during the Civil War, and he was on that account strongly recommended to Charles II., at the Restoration. — KENNET'S *Register*.

all points, cost him but 12*l.* a pair, and mine me 2*s.* He told me he had been seven years finding out a man that could dress English sheep-skin as it should be — and, indeed, it is now as good, in all respects, as kid, and he says will save 100,000*l.* a-year, that goes out to France for kid's skins. Thus he labours very worthily to advance our own trade, but do it with mighty vanity and talking. But then he told me of our base condition, in the treaty with Holland and France, about our prisoners, that whereas before we did clear one another's prisoners, man for man, and we upon the publication of the peace did release all our's, 300 at Leith, and others in other places for nothing, the Dutch do keep theirs, and will not discharge them without paying their debts according to the Treaty. That his instruments in Holland, writing to our Embassadors about this to Bredah, they answer them that they do not know of any thing that they have done therein, but left it just as it was before. To which, when they answer, that by the treaty their Lordships had not bound our countrymen to pay their debts in prison, they answer they cannot help it, and we must get them off as cheap as we can. On this score, they demand 1,100*l.* for Sir G. Ascue, and 5,000*l.* for the one province of Zealand, for the prisoners that we have therein. He says that this is a piece of shame that never any nation committed, and that our very Lords here of the Council, when he related this matter to them, did not remember that they had agreed to this article; and swears that all their articles are alike, as the giving

away Polleron, and Surinam, and Nova Scotia, which hath a river 300 miles up the country, with copper mines more than Swedeland, and Newcastle coals,¹ the only place in America that hath coals that we know of; and that Cromwell did value those places, and would for ever have made much of them; but we have given them away for nothing, besides a debt to the King of Denmarke. But, which is most of all, they have discharged those very particular demands of merchants of the Guinny company and others, which he, when he was there, had adjusted with the Dutch, and come to an agreement in writing, and they undertaken to satisfy, and that this was done in black and white under their hands; and yet we have forgiven all these, and not so much as sent to Sir G. Downing to know what he had done, or to confer with him about any one point of the treaty, but signed to what they would have, and we here signed to whatever in grosse was brought over by Mr. Coventry. And Sir G. Downing tells me, just in these words, "My Lord Chancellor had a mind to keep himself from being questioned by clapping up a peace upon any terms." When I answered that there was other privy-councillors to be advised with besides him, and that, therefore, this whole peace could not be laid to his charge, he an-

¹ The eastern portion of Nova Scotia is rich in minerals. Coal has been discovered at least in ten places between the Isthmus of Chignecto and Merigomish, and the great coal-field of Pictou occupies an area of more than one hundred square miles. Iron ore abounds in the same district, as well as in the vicinity of the Annapolis Basin. Indications of copper and lead occur along Northumberland Strait.

swered that nobody durst say any thing at the council-table but himself, and that the King was as much afraid of saying any thing there as the meanest privy-councillor ; and says more, that at this day the King, in familiar talk, do call the Chancellor "the insolent man," and says that he would not let him speak himself in Council : which is very high, and do show that the Chancellor is like to be in a bad state, unless he can defend himself better than people think. And yet Creed tells me that he do hear that my Lord Cornbury¹ do say that his father do long for the coming of the Parliament, in order to his own vindication, more than any one of his enemies. And here it comes into my head to set down what Mr. Rawlinson, whom I met in Fenchurch Street on Friday last, looking over his ruins there, told me, that he was told by one of my Lord Chancellor's gentlemen lately, that a grant coming to him to be sealed, wherein the King hath given my Lady Castlemaine, or somebody by her means, a place which he did not like well of, he did stop the grant ; saying, that he thought this woman would sell every thing shortly : which she hearing of, she sent to let him know that she had disposed of this place, and did not doubt, in a little time, to dispose of his. To White Hall, and saw the King and Queen at dinner ; and observed, which I never did before, the formality, but it is but a formality, of putting a bit of bread wiped upon each dish into the mouth of every

¹ Henry Hyde, afterwards second Earl of Clarendon.

man that brings a dish ;¹ but it should be in the sauce. Here were some Russes come to see the King at dinner : among others, the interpreter, a comely Englishman, in the Envoy's own clothes ; which the Envoy, it seems, in vanity did send to show his fine clothes upon this man's back, he being one, it seems, of a comelier presence than himself : and yet it is said that none of their clothes are their own, but taken out of the King's own Wardrobe ; and which they dare not bring back dirty or spotted, but clean, or are in danger of being beaten, as they say : insomuch that, Sir Charles Cotterell² says, when they are to have an audience they never venture to put on their clothes till he appears to come to fetch them ; and, as soon as ever they come home, put them off again. I to Sir G. Carteret's to dinner ; where Mr. Cofferer Ashburnham ; who told a good story of a prisoner's being condemned at Salisbury for a small matter. While he was on the bench with his father-in-law, Judge Richardson,³ and while they were considering to transport him to save his life, the fellow flung a great stone at the Judge, that missed him, but broke through the wainscoat. Upon this, he had his hand cut off, and was hanged

¹ A vestige of the old custom of tasting, or assay.

² Master of the Ceremonies from 1641 to 1686, when he resigned in favour of his son.

³ Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Beaumont, widow of Sir John Ashburnham, and mother of John Ashburnham and William Ashburnham, the Cofferer, re-married Sir Thomas Richardson, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. She was, in 1629, created Baroness Cramond, in Scotland, for her life only, *with remainder to the heirs male of her second husband by a former wife*. No reason is assigned for this strange limitation of the patent.

presently.¹ Here was a gentleman, one Sheres, one come lately from my Lord Sandwich, with an express ; but, Lord ! I was almost ashamed to see him, lest he should know that I have not yet wrote one letter to my Lord since his going. Home, and there found Mr. Pelling and Howe, and we to sing and good musique till late, and after supper to bed with much content, only my mind a little troubled at my late breach of vowes, which however I will pay my forfeits for, though the badness of my eyes, making me unfit to read or write long, is my excuse, and do put me upon other pleasures and employments which I should refrain from in observation of my vowes.

9th. After dinner, Creed and I and my wife to the Bear-Garden, to see a prize fought there. To White Hall ; and here do hear, by Tom Killigrew and Mr. Progers, that for certain news is come of Harman's having spoiled nineteen of twenty-two French ships, somewhere about the Barbadoes, I think they said ; but wherever it is, it is a good service, and very welcome. I fell in talk with Tom Killigrew about

¹ This anecdote is confirmed in Chief Justice Treby's "Notes to Dyer's Reports," folio edition, p. 188, b. "Richardson, Ch. Just. de C. Banc. al Assises at Salisbury, in summer 1631, fuit assault per prisoner la condamne pur felony; que puis son condemnation, ject un brickbat a le dit Justice, qui narrowly mist; et pur ceo immediately fuit indictment drawn, per Noy, [the Attorney-General,] envers le prisoner, et son dexter manus ampute, and fix at gibbet, sur que luy meme immediatement hange in presence de Court.' The Chief Justice happened to be leaning low on his elbow when the stone was thrown, so it flew too high, and only took off his hat. Soon after, some friends congratulating him on his escape, he replied (as his fashion was to make a jest of everything), "If I had been an *upright* Judge, I had been slain." — THOM'S *Anecdotes and Traditions*.

musick, and he tells me that he will bring me to the best musick in England, of which, indeed, he is master, and that is two Italians and Mrs. Yates, who, he says, is come to sing the Italian manner as well as ever he heard any: he says that Knipp won't take pains enough, but that she understands her part so well upon the stage, that no man or woman in the House do the like. To the Bear-Garden, where now the yard was full of people, and those most of them seamen, striving by force to get in, that I was afeard to be seen among them, but got into the ale-house, and so by a back-way was put into the bull-house, where I stood a good while all alone among the bulls, and was afeard I was among the bears, too; but by and by the door opened, and I got into the common pit; and there, with my cloak about my face, I stood and saw the prize fought, till one of them, a shoemaker, was so cut in both his wrists that he could not fight any longer, and then they broke off: his enemy was a butcher. The sport very good, and various humours to be seen among the rabble that is there. To Sir W. Batten's, to invite them to dinner on Wednesday next, having a whole buck come from Hampton Court, by the warrant which Sir Stephen Fox did give me.

10th. At the Office, where little to do but bemoan ourselves under the want of money; and indeed little is, or can be done, we having not now received one penny for any service in many weeks, and none in view, saving for paying of some seamen's wages. Sent to by my Lord Brouncker, and it was to dine

with him and his Lady Williams, which I have not now done in many months at their own table, and Mr. Wren, who is come to dine with them, the first time he hath been at the office since his being the Duke of York's Secretary. Here we sat and eat and talked and of some matters of the office, but I fear he will not go about understanding them with the impatience that Sir W. Coventry did. Away to St. James's, where we all met, and did our usual weekly business with the Duke of York. But, Lord ! methinks both he and we are mighty flat and dull to what we used to be, when Sir W. Coventry was among us. Met Mr. Povy ; and he and I to walk an hour or more in the Pell Mell, talking of the times. He tells me, among other things, that this business of the Chancellor do breed a kind of inward distance between the King and the Duke of York, and that it cannot be avoided ; for though the latter did at first move it through his folly, yet he is made to see that he is wounded by it, and is become much a less man than he was, and so will be : but he tells me that they are, and have always been, great dissemblers one towards another ; and that their parting heretofore in France ¹ is never to be thoroughly reconciled between them. He tells me that he believes there is no such thing likely to be, as a composition with my Lady Castlemaine, and that she shall be got out of the way before the Parliament

¹ In 1652. See an account of it in Clarendon's "History of the Rebellion," book xiii., and of Sir John Berkeley's part in the matter, to which he is said to have owed his peerage.

comes ; for he says she is as high as ever she was, though he believes the King is as weary of her as is possible, and would give any thing to remove her, but he is so weak in his passion that he dare not do it ; that he do believe that my Lord Chancellor will be doing some acts in the Parliament which shall render him popular ; and that there are many people now do speak kindly of him that did not before ; but that, if he do do this, it must provoke the King, and that party that removed him. He seems to doubt what the King of France will do, in case an accommodation shall be made between Spain and him for Flanders, for then he will have nothing more easy to do with his army than to subdue us.

11th. Up, and with Mr. Gauden to the Exchequer. By the way, he tells me this day he is to be answered whether he must hold Sheriff or no ; for he would not hold unless he may keep it at his office, which is out of the city, and so my Lord Mayor must come with his sword down, whenever he comes thither, which he do, because he cannot get a house fit for him in the city, or else he will fine for it. Among others that they have in nomination for Sheriff, one is little Chaplin,¹ who was his servant, and a very young man to undergo that place ; but as the city is now, there is no great honour nor joy to be had, in being a public officer. To the 'Change and there bought a case of knives for dinner, and a dish of fruit for 5s., and then

¹ Francis Chaplin, cloth-worker, son of Robert Chaplin of Bury St. Edmunds; Sheriff of London in 1668, knighted, and Lord Mayor in 1678.

home, and here I find all things in good order, and a good dinner towards. Anon comes Sir W. Batten and his lady, and Mr. Griffith, their ward, and Sir W. Pen and his lady, and Mrs. Lowther, who is grown, either through pride or want of manners, a fool, having not a word to say; and, as a further mark of a beggarly, proud fool, hath a bracelet of diamonds and rubies about her wrist, and a six-penny necklace about her neck, and not one good rag of clothes upon her back; and Sir John Chichly in their company, and Mrs. Turner. Here I had an extraordinary good and handsome dinner for them, and better than any of them deserve or understand, saving Sir John Chichly and Mrs. Turner, and not much mirth, only what I by discourse made, and that against my genius. After dinner I took care to break up the party as soon as I could, and by water to White Hall, there to speak with the Commissioners of the Treasury, who are mighty earnest for our hastening all that may be the paying off of the Seamen, now there is money, and are considering many other things for easing of charge, which I am glad of. Having done there, I by coach to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw part of "The Ungratefull Lovers;"¹ and sat by Beck Marshall, who is very handsome near hand. Home and my wife and I at the flageolet, which she plays now any thing upon almost at first sight and in good time. But here comes Mr. Moore, and sat and discoursed with me

¹ "The Ungrateful Lovers" is an odd title; nor has a play of that name been traced. Is it a mistake for Davenant's "Unfortunate Lovers"?

of publique matters: the sum of which is, that he do doubt that there is more at the bottom than the removal of the Chancellor; that is, he do verily believe that the King do resolve to declare the Duke of Monmouth legitimate, and that we shall soon see it. This I do not think the Duke of York will endure without blows; but his poverty, and being lessened by having the Chancellor fallen and Sir W. Coventry gone from him, will disable him from being able to do any thing almost, he being himself almost lost in the esteem of people; and will be more and more, unless my Lord Chancellor, who is already begun to be pitied by some people, and to be better thought of than was expected, do recover himself in Parliament. He do say that, that is very true, that my Lord Chancellor did lately make some stop of some grants of 2,000*l.* a-year to my Lord Grandison,¹ which was only in his name, for the use of my Lady Castlemaine's children; and that this did incense her, and she did speak very scornful words, and sent a scornful message to him about it.

12th. To the Exchequer for some tallies for Tangier; and that being done, to the Dog tavern, and there I spent half a piece upon the clerks. To the Duke's house, where "*Tu Quoque*"² was the first

¹ George Villiers, fourth Viscount Grandison, and younger brother of Lady Castlemaine's father, who had died without issue male.

² This play, which was called "*Greene's Tu Quoque*," on account of the celebrity of the actor, Thomas Greene, in the part of Bubble, was written by John Cooke, and first printed in 1614, having been published by the well-known dramatist, Thomas Heywood. It was afterwards known as "*The City*

time acted, with some alterations of Sir W. Davenant's; but the play is a very silly play, methinks; for I, and others that sat by me, Mr. Povy and Mr. Progers, were weary of it; but it will please the citizens.

13th. Called up by people come to deliver in ten chaldron of coals, brought in one of our prizes from Newcastle. The rest we intend to sell, we having above ten chaldron between us. They sell at about 28s. or 29s. per chaldron; but Sir W. Batten hath sworn that he was a cuckold that sells under 30s., and that makes us lay up all but what we have for our own spending, which is very pleasant; for I believe we shall be glad to sell them for less. To the office, and then with Sir W. Batten and my wife and Mrs. Turner to Walthamstow, to Mr. Shipman's to dinner, where Sir W. Pen and my Lady and Mrs. Lowther (the latter of which hath got a sore nose, which made me I could not look upon her with any pleasure), and here a very good and plentiful wholesome dinner, and, above all things, such plenty of milk meats, she keeping a great dairy, and so good as I never met with.

14th. The King and Duke of York and the whole Court is mighty joyful at the Duchess of York's being brought to bed this day, or yesterday, of a son; ¹ which

Gallant," the second title being made the first. It is reprinted in all the editions of Dodsley's "Old Plays."

¹ Edgar, created Duke of Cambridge, the third of James's sons who had borne that title.

will settle men's minds mightily. And Pierce tells me that he do think that what the King do, of giving the Duke of Monmouth the command of his Guards, and giving my Lord Gerard 12,000*l.* for it, is merely to find an employment for him upon which he may live, and not out of any design to bring him into any title to the Crowne ; which Mr. Moore did the other day put me into great fear of. To the King's playhouse to see "The Northerne Castle," which I think I never did see before. Knipp acted in it, and did her part very extraordinary well ; but the play is but a mean, sorry play ; but the house very full of gallants. It seems, it hath not been acted a good while. To the office, and then home to our flageolet and so to bed, being mightily troubled in mind at the liberty I give myself of going to plays upon pretence of the weakness of my eyes, that cannot continue so long together at work at my office, but I must remedy it.

15th (Lord's day). To church, where I stood, in continual fear of Mrs. Markham's coming, and offering to come into our pew, to prevent which, soon as ever I heard the great door open, I did step back, and clap my breech to our pew-door, that she might be forced to shove me to come in ; but as God would have it, she did not come. Mr. Mills preached, and after sermon, by invitation, he and his wife came to dine with me, which is the first time they have been in my house, I think, these five years, I thinking it not amiss, because of their acquaintance in our country, to show them some respect. Mr. Turner and his

wife, and their son the Captain, dined with me, and I had a very good dinner for them, and very merry, and after dinner, Mr. Mills was forced to go, though it rained, to Stepney, to preach. We also to church, and then home, and there comes Mr. Pelling, with two men,¹ by promise, one Wallington and Piggott, the former whereof, being a very little fellow, did sing a most excellent bass, and yet a poor fellow, a working goldsmith, that goes without gloves to his hands. Here we sung several good things, but I am more and more confirmed that singing with many voices is not singing, but a sort of instrumental musique, the sense of the words being lost by not being heard, and especially as they set them with Fuges of words, one after another, whereas singing properly, I think, should be but with one or two voices at most and the counter-point. They supped with me, and so broke up, and then my wife to read to me, which she do very well, and was Mr. Boyle's discourse upon the style of the scriptures, which is a very fine piece, and so to bed.

16th. Sir H. Cholmly was with me a good while ; who tells me that the Duke of York's child is christened, the Duke of Albemarle and the Marquis of Worcester² godfathers, and my Lady Suffolke god-

¹ These three persons were members of the late Music Society, in the Old Jewry, to whom Playford dedicated his "Catch that Catch can; or the Metrical Companion." Some of Wallington's compositions are in that work, and in a collection called "New Ayres and Dialogues," composed for Voices and Vyols." London, 1678, 8vo.

² Henry Somerset, third Marquis of Worcester, afterwards created Duke of Beaufort.

mother ; and they have named it Edgar, which is a brave name. But it seems they are more joyful in the Chancellor's family, at the birth of this Prince, than in wisdom they should, for fear it should give the King cause of jealousy. Sir H. Cholmly do not seem to think there is any such thing can be in the King's intention as that of raising the Duke of Monmouth to the Crowne, though he thinks there may possibly be some persons that would, and others that would be glad to have the Queen removed to some monastery, or somewhere or other, to make room for a new wife ; for they will all be unsafe under the Duke of York. He says the King and Parliament will agree ; that is, that the King will do any thing that they will have him. At the New Exchange,¹ I staid reading Mrs. Phillips's poems till my wife and Mercer called me to Mrs. Pierce's, by invitation to dinner, where I find her painted, which makes me loathe her, and the nastiest poor dinner that made me sick. Here I met with "a Fourth Advice² to the Painter upon the coming in of the Dutch to the River and end of the war," that made my heart ake to read, it being too sharp, and so true. Here I also saw a printed account of the examinations taken, touching the burning of the City of London, showing the plot of the Papists therein ; which, it seems, hath been ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, in Westminster Palace. My wife and Mercer and I away to the King's playhouse,

¹ At Herringman's. See 10th August, 1667, *ante*.

² See Jan. 20, 1666-7, *ante*.

to see the "Scornfull Lady;" but it being now three o'clock there was not one soul in the pit; whereupon, for shame, we would not go in, but, against our wills, went all to see "Tu Quoque" again, where there was pretty store of company. Here we saw Madam Morland,¹ who is grown mighty fat, but is very comely. But one of the best parts of our sport was a mighty pretty lady that sat behind us, that did laugh so heartily and constantly, that it did me good to hear her. Thence to the King's house, upon a wager of mine with my wife, that there would be no acting there to-day, there being no company: so I went in and found a pretty good company there, and saw their dance at the end of the play.

17th. This evening Captain Cocke and Sir W. Batten did come to me, and sat, and drank a bottle of wine, and told me how Sir W. Pen hath got an order for the "Flying Greyhound" for himself, which is so false a thing, and the part of a knave, as nothing almost can be more. This vexed me; but I resolved to bring it before the Duke, and try a pull for it.

18th. I walked in the Exchange, which is now made pretty, by having windows and doors before all their shops, to keep out the cold. By and by to Captain Cocke, and he and I to my Lord Chancellor's; there to Mr. Wren's chamber, who did tell us the whole of Sir W. Pen's having the order for this ship of ours, which is built upon a suggestion of his having

¹ Sir Samuel Morland's first wife, Caroline Harsnet, buried in Westminster Abbey.

given the King a ship of his, "The Prosperous," wherein is such a cheat as I have the best advantage in the world over him, and will make him do reason, or lay him upon his back. This evening Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen and I met at Sir W. Batten's house, and there I took an opportunity to break the business, at which Sir W. Pen is much disturbed, and would excuse it the most he can, but do it so basely, that though he do offer to let go his pretence to her and come in only to ask his share of her, yet I shall remember him for a knave as long as I live.

19th. Comes my cozen, Kate Joyce, and an aunt of ours, Lettice, formerly Haynes, and now Howlett, come to town to see her friends, and also Sarah Kite, with her little boy in her armes. The child I like very well, and could wish it my own. My wife being all unready, did not appear. I made as much of them as I could such ordinary company; and yet my heart was glad to see them, though their condition was a little below my present state, to be familiar with. She tells me how the life-guard, which we thought a little while since was sent down into the country about some insurrection, was sent to Winchcombe,¹ to spoil the tobacco there, which it seems the people there do plant contrary to law, and have always done, and still been under force and danger of having it spoiled, as it

¹ Winchcombe St. Peter, a market-town in Gloucestershire. Tobacco was first cultivated in this parish, after its introduction into England, in 1583, and it proved a considerable source of profit to the inhabitants, till the trade was placed under restrictions.

hath been oftentimes, and yet they will continue to plant it. The place, she says, is a miserable poor place.

20th. I out to pay some debts : among others to the taverne at the end of Billiter Lane, where my design was to see the pretty mistress of the house, which I did, and indeed is, as I always thought, one of the modestest, prettiest, plain women that ever I saw. By coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Mad Couple,"¹ my wife having been at the same play with Jane, in the 18*th*. seat.

21st. The King, Duke of York, and the men of the Court, have been these four or five days a-hunting at Bagshot.

22nd (Lord's day). At noon comes Mr. Sheres, whom I find a good, ingenious man, but do talk a little too much of his travels. He left my Lord Sandwich well, but in pain to be at home for want of money, which comes very hardly. This night I did even my accounts of the house, which to my great shame, I have omitted now above two months, and therefore am content to take my wife and mayd's accounts as they give them, being not able to correct them, which vexes me ; but the fault being my own, contrary to my wife's frequent desires, I cannot find fault, but am resolved never to let them come to that pass again. The truth is, I have indulged myself more in pleasure for these last two months than ever I did in my life

¹ "All Mistaken; or, the Mad Couple;" a comedy, by the Hon. James Howard.

before, since I came to be a person concerned in business ; and I doubt, when I come to make up my accounts, I shall find it so by the expence.

23rd. To Westminster, and there, among other things, bought the examinations of the business about the Fire of London, which is a book that Mrs. Pierce tells me hath been commanded to be burnt.¹ The examinations indeed are very plain. At my Lord Ashly's,² by invitation, to dine there, which I did, and Sir H. Cholmy, Creed, and Yeabsly, upon occasion of the business of Yeabsly, who, God knows, do bribe him very well for it ; and it is pretty to see how this great man do condescend to these things, and do all he can in his examining of his business to favour him and yet with great cunning not to be discovered but by me that am privy to it. At table it is worth remembering that my Lord tells us that the House of Lords is the last appeal that a man can make, upon a point of interpretation of the law, and that therein they are above the Judges ; and that he did assert this in the Lords' House upon the late occasion of the quarrel between my Lord Bristoll and the Chancellor, when the former did accuse the latter of treason, and the Judges did bring it in not to be treason : my Lord Ashly did declare that the judgment of the Judges

¹ The tract alluded to was called "A True and Faithful Account of the several Informations exhibited to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament to enquire into the late dreadful burning of the City of London," 1667. Reprinted in the "Antiquarian Repertory," vol. i. p. 123.

² Lord Ashley resided in Aldersgate Street.

was nothing in the presence of their Lordships, but only as far as they were the properest men to bring precedents ; but not to interpret the law to their Lordships, but only the inducements of their persuasions : and this the Lords did concur in. Another pretty thing was my Lady Ashly's¹ speaking of the bad qualities of glass-coaches ; among others, the flying open of the doors upon any great shake : but another was, that my Lady Peterborough being in her glass-coach, with the glass up, and seeing a lady pass by in a coach whom she would salute, the glass was so clear, that she thought it had been open, and so ran her head through the glass ! We were put into my Lord's room before he could come to us, and there had opportunity to look over the state of his accounts of the prizes ; and there saw how bountiful the King hath been to several people : and hardly any man almost, Commander of the Navy of any note, but hath had some reward or other out of them ; and many sums to the Privy-purse, but not so many, I see, as I thought there had been : but we could not look quite through it. But several Bed-chamber-men and people about the Court had good sums ; and, among others, Sir John Minnes and Lord Brouncker have 200*l.* a-piece for looking to the East India prizes, while I did their work for them. By and by my Lord came, and we did look over Yeabsly's business a little ; and

¹ Margaret, daughter of William, Lord Spencer of Wormleighton, was third wife of Lord Ashley, according to Collins; but second according to Dugdale.

I find how prettily this cunning Lord can be partial and dissemble it in this case, being privy to the bribe he is to receive. With Sir H. Cholmly to Westminster; who by the way told me how merry the King and Duke of York and Court were the other day, when they were abroad a-hunting. They came to Sir G. Carteret's house at Cranbourne, and there were entertained, and all made drunk; and all being drunk, Armerer¹ did come to the King, and swore to him, "by God, Sir," says he, "you are not so kind to the Duke of York of late as you used to be." — "Not I?" says the King. "Why so?" — "Why," says he, "if you are, let us drink his health." — "Why, let us," says the King. Then he fell on his knees, and drank it; and having done, the King began to drink it. "Nay, Sir," says Armerer, "by God you must do it on your knees!" So he did, and then all the company: and having done it, all fell a-crying for joy, being all maudlin and kissing one another, the King the Duke of York, and the Duke of York the King: and in such a maudlin pickle as never people were: and so passed the day. But Sir H. Cholmly tells me, that the King hath this good luck, that the next day he hates to have any body mention what he had done the day before, nor will suffer any body to gain upon him that way; which is a good quality. By and by comes Captain Cocke about business; who tells me that Mr. Brouncker is lost for ever, notwithstanding

¹ Sir William Armorer, Equerry to the King.

my Lord Brouncker hath advised with him, Cocke, how he might make a peace with the Duke of York and Chancellor, upon promise of serving him in the Parliament: but Cocke says that is base to offer, and will have no success neither. He says that Mr. Wren hath refused a present of Tom Wilson's for his place of Store-keeper at Chatham, and is resolved never to take any thing; which is both wise in him, and good to the King's service.

24th. To the Office, where all the morning very busy. Home, where there dined with me Anthony Joyce and his wife, and Will and his wife, and my aunt Lettice, that was here the other day, and Sarah Kite, and I had a good dinner for them, and were as merry as I could be in that company where W. Joyce is, who is still the same impertinent fellow that ever he was. After dinner to St. James's, where we had an audience of the Duke of York of many things of weight, about which we stayed till past candle-light, and so Sir W. Batten and W. Pen and I fain to go in a hackney-coach all round by London Wall, for fear of cellars. We tired one coach upon Holborne-Conduit Hill, and got another, and made it a long journey home. Where at my business till twelve at night, writing in short hand the draught of a report to make to the King and Council to-morrow, about the reason of not having the book of the Treasurer made up. This I did finish to-night to the spoiling of my eyes, I fear. My wife tells me that W. Batelier hath been here to-day, and brought with him the pretty girl he

speaks of, to come to serve my wife as a woman, out of the school at Bow. My wife says she is extraordinary handsome, and inclines to have her, and I am glad of it—at least, that if we must have one, she should be handsome. But I shall leave it wholly to my wife, to do what she will therein.

25th. Up as soon as I could see and to write over fair my last night's work and got it signed, and so with Sir H. Cholmly, who came to me about his business, to White Hall: and thither came also my Lord Brouncker: and we by and by called in, and our paper read; and much discourse thereon by Sir G. Carteret, my Lord Anglesey, Sir W. Coventry, and my Lord Ashly, and myself: but I could easily discern that they none of them understood the business; and the King at last ended it with saying lazily, "Why," says he, "after all this discourse, I now come to understand it; and that is, that there can nothing be done in this more than is possible," which was so silly as I never heard: "and therefore," says he, "I would have these gentlemen do as much as possible to hasten the Treasurer's accounts; and that is all." And so we broke up: and I confess I went away ashamed, to see how slightly things are advised upon there. Here I saw the Duke of Buckingham sit in Council again, where he was re-admitted, it seems, the last Council-day: and it is wonderful to see how this man is come again to his places, all of them, after the reproach and disgrace done him: so that things are done in a most foolish manner quite through.

The Duke of Buckingham did second Sir W. Coventry in the advising the King that he would not concern himself in the owning or not owning any man's accounts, or any thing else, wherein he had not the same satisfaction that would satisfy the Parliament; saying, that nothing would displease the Parliament more than to find him defending any thing that is not right, nor justifiable to the utmost degree: but methought he spoke it but very poorly. After this, I walked up and down the Gallery till noon; and here I met with Bishop Fuller, who, to my great joy, is made, which I did not hear before, Bishop of Lincoln.¹ At noon I took coach, and to Sir G. Carteret's, in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, to the house that is my Lord's, which my Lord lets him have: and this is the first day of dining there. And there dined with him and his lady my Lord Privy-seale,² who is indeed a very sober man; who, among other talk, did mightily wonder at the reason of the growth of the credit of bankers, since it is so ordinary a thing for citizens to break, out of knavery. Upon this we had much discourse; and I observed therein, to the honour of this City, that I have not heard of one citizen of London broke in all this war, this plague, or this fire, and this coming up of the enemy among us; which he owned to be very considerable.³ I to the King's playhouse,

¹ See 29th July, *ante*.

² John Lord Robarts. See vol. i., Aug. 21, 1660.

³ This remarkable fact is confirmed by Evelyn, in a letter to Sir Samuel Tuke, Sept. 27, 1666. See "Correspondence," vol. iv. p. 187, edit. 1852.

my eyes being so bad since last night's straining of them, that I am hardly able to see, besides the pain which I have in them. The play was a new play; and infinitely full: the King and all the Court almost there. It is "The Storme," a play of Fletcher's; which is but so-so, methinks; only there is a most admirable dance at the end, of the ladies, in a military manner, which indeed did please me mightily. So, it being a mighty wet day and night, I with much ado got a coach, and, with twenty stops which he made, I got him to carry me quite through, and paid dear for it, and so home, and then comes my wife home from the Duke of York's playhouse, where she hath been with my aunt and Kate Joyce.

26th. To my chamber, whither Jonas Moore¹ comes, and tells me the mighty use of Napier's bones;² so that I will have a pair presently. With my wife abroad to the King's playhouse, to show her yesterday's new play, which I like as I did yesterday, the principal thing extraordinary being the dance, which is very good.

27th. While I was busy at the Office, my wife sends for me to come home, and what was it but to see the pretty girl which she is taking to wait upon her: and though she seems not altogether so great a beauty as she had before told me, yet indeed she is mighty

¹ See May 23, 1661, *ante*.

² Napier's bones, or rods, an instrument contrived by John Lord Napier, of Murcheston, for simplifying arithmetical operations, first described in his "*Rabdologiæ seu Numerationes per virgulas, libri duo.*" Ed. 1617.

pretty ; and so pretty, that I find I shall be too much pleased with it, and therefore could be contented as to my judgement, though not to my passion, that she might not come, lest I may be found too much minding her, to the discontent of my wife. She is to come next week. She seems, by her discourse, to be grave beyond her bigness and age, and exceeding well bred as to her deportment, having been a scholar in a school at Bow these seven or eight years. Creed and Sheres came and dined with me ; and we had a great deal of pretty discourse of the ceremoniousness of the Spaniards, whose ceremonies are so many and so known, that, Sheres tells me, upon all occasions of joy or sorrow in a Grandee's family, my Lord Ambassador is fain to send one with an *en hora buena*, if it be upon a marriage, or birth of a child, or a *pesa me*, if it be upon the death of a child, or so. And these ceremonies are so set, and the words of the compliment, that he hath been sent from my Lord, when he hath done no more than send in word to the Grandee that one was there from the Ambassador ; and he knowing what was his errand, that hath been enough, and he hath never spoken with him : nay, several Grandees having been to marry a daughter, have wrote letters to my Lord to give him notice, and out of the greatness of his wisdom to desire his advice, though people he never saw ; and then my Lord he answers by commending the greatness of his discretion in making so good an alliance, &c., and so ends. He says that it is so far from dishonour to a man to

give private revenge for an affront, that the contrary is a disgrace ; they holding that he that receives an affront is not fit to appear in the sight of the world till he hath revenged himself ; and therefore, that a gentleman there that receives an affront oftentimes never appears again in the world till he hath, by some private way or other, revenged himself : and that, on this account, several have followed their enemies privately to the Indys, thence to Italy, thence to France and back again, watching for an opportunity to be revenged. He says my Lord was fain to keep a letter from the Duke of York to the Queen of Spain a great while in his hands, before he could think fit to deliver it, till he had learnt whether the Queen would receive it, it being directed to his cozen. He says that many ladies in Spain, after they are found to be with child, do never stir out of their beds or chambers till they are brought to bed : so ceremonious they are in that point also. He tells me of their wooing by serenades at the window, and that their friends do always make the match ; but yet they have opportunities to meet at masse at church, and there they make love : that the Court there hath no dancing, nor visits at night to see the King or Queen, but is always just like a cloyster, nobody stirring in it : that my Lord Sandwich wears a beard now, turned up in the Spanish manner. But that which pleased me most indeed is, that the peace which he hath made with Spain is now printed here, and is acknowledged by all the merchants to be the best peace that ever England had

with them : and it appears that the King thinks it so, for this is printed before the ratification is gone over ; whereas that with France and Holland was not in a good while after, till copys came over of it in English out of Holland and France, that it was a reproach not to have it printed here. This I am mighty glad of ; and is the first and only piece of good news, or thing fit to be owned, that this nation hath done several years. Anon comes Pelling, and he and I to Gray's-Inne Fields, thinking to have heard Mrs. Knight¹ sing at her lodgings, by a friend's means of his ; but we come too late ; so must try another time. Home and did a great deal of good business about my Tangier accounts, and so with pleasure discoursing with my wife of our journey shortly to Brampton, and of this little girle, which indeed runs in my head, and pleases me mightily, though I dare not own it, and so to supper and to bed.

28th. All the morning at the Office, busy upon an Order of Council, wherein they are mightily at a loss what to advise about our discharging of seamen by ticket, there being no money to pay their wages before January, only there is money to pay them since January, provided by the Parliament, which will be a

¹ Mrs. Knight, a celebrated singer, and favourite of Charles II. There is in Waller's "Poems," a song sung by her to the Queen, on her birthday. In her portrait, engraved by Faber, after Kneller, she is represented in mourning, and in a devout posture, before a crucifix. There is a story that she was sent by Charles with overtures to Nell Gwyn ; but that Lord Buckhurst would not resign her till the expenses which he had lavished upon her were repaid ; and till he was promised the Earldom of Middlesex for his compliance.

horrid disgrace to the King and Crowne of England that no man shall reckon himself safe, but where the Parliament takes care. And this did move Mr. Wren at the table to-day to say, that he did believe that if ever there be occasion more to raise money, it will become here, as it is in Poland, that there are two treasurers — one for the King, and the other for the kingdom. Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, dropped in, who I feared did come to bespeak me to be godfather to his son, which I am unwilling now to be, having ended my liking to his wife, since I find she paints. After dinner comes Sir Fr. Hollis to me about business; and I with him by coach to the Temple, and there I 'light; all the way he telling me romantic lies of himself and his family, how they have been Parliament-men for Grimsby, he and his forefathers, this 140 years; and his father is now: and himself, at this day, stands for to be, with his father,¹ by the death of his fellow-burgess; and that he believes it will cost him as much as it did his predecessor, which was 300*l.* in ale, and 52*l.* in buttered ale;² which I believe is one of his devilish lies. To the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw a piece of "Sir Martin Marrall," with great delight.

¹ He succeeded Sir Henry Bellassis, who had been returned for Grimsby on the death of Sir Adrian Scrope, and who had been killed in the duel with Porter.

² "In the evening, the English take a certain beverage, which they call buttered ale, composed of sugar, cinnamon, butter, and beer brewed without hops." — JOREVIN'S "Description of England in the 17th century." (*Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. iv. p. 572.)

29th (Lord's day). Put off first my summer's silk suit, and put on a cloth one. Then to Church. All the afternoon talking in my chamber with my wife, about my keeping a coach the next year, and doing some things to my house, which will cost money — that is, furnish our best chamber with tapestry, and other rooms with pictures. In the evening read good books — my wife to me ; and I did even my kitchen accounts.

30th. To the Duke of York to Council, where we the officers of the Navy did attend about the business of discharging the seamen by tickets, where several of the Lords spoke and of our number none but myself, which I did in such manner as pleased the King and Council. Speaking concerning the difficulty of pleasing of seamen and giving them assurance to their satisfaction that they should be paid their arrears of wages, my Lord Ashly did move that an assignment for money on the Act might be put into the hands of the East India Company, or City of London, which he thought the seamen would believe. But this my Lord Anglesey did very handsomely oppose, and I think did carry it that it will not be : and it is indeed a mean thing that the King should so far own his own want of credit as to borrow their's in this manner. My Lord Anglesey told him that this was the way indeed to teach the Parliament to trust the King no more for the time to come, but to have a kingdom's Treasurer distinct from the King's. To Mrs. Martin's, to bespeak some linen, and drank, and away,

having first promised my god-daughter a new coat — her first coat. So home, and there find our pretty girl Willet come, brought by Mr. Batelier, and she is very pretty, and so grave as I never saw a little thing in my life. I wish my wife may use her well.

